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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

VOLUME LXIV.

1877.

EDITED BY E. LETHBRIDGE, M.A.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON

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ART. I.—BISHOP MILMAN.

THE remarkable career which, to the sorrow of all India, closed at Rawul Pindee in March last, deserves more than a passing notice. He could be no ordinary man of whose death a Viceroy, on the eve of laying down his office, could say, that no event during his stay in India had called forth more universal sympathy, or greater feelings of attachment to any individual. And yet the truth of these words must at once have come home to those who heard or read them. It is too early to form an accurate estimate of the effect of Bishop Milman's episcopate upon India, and the Indian Church; nor shall we attempt it. But while India still mourns his loss, and perhaps before a successor stands in his accustomed place, it may not be amiss if we try to gather up in a brief sketch the lessons to be drawn from his life and character.

The second son of the late Sir William G. Milman, Bart., and grandson of the distinguished physician to George III., Robert Milman was born on January 25th, 1816; and was educated at Westminster, and at Exeter College, Oxford. At Westminster he was the school-fellow of his predecessor in the See of Calcutta, Bishop Cotton. At Oxford he took a second class in classics in 1837, his name appearing in the same class with that of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, late Governor of Bombay. After some months of travel on the Continent, he was ordained by the Bishop of Peterborough in 1839 to the Curacy of Winwick in Northamptonshire, which he left in 1841 on his presentation by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster to the Vicarage of Chaddleworth, Berkshire. Here he remained in comparative obscurity for 10 years; and those who remember the stores of learning from which, when in India, the Bishop was able to draw, will think with interest that the foundations of that learning were laid in this quiet Berkshire village. In 1851, at the request of the Bishop of Oxford, Mr. Milman moved to the less valuable living and far more populous parish of Lamborne in the same county, where he worked till 1862. It was here that he wrote that admirable devotional exposition of the 53rd of Isaiah, entitled "The Love

of the Atonement' for which those who know the book feel that they owe him a debt that they can never repay, and which will probably be held in increasingly high repute as years roll on. But what inhabitants of Lamborne will chiefly remember, is the wonderful transformation in the state of their parish. A new Church in the hamlet of Eastbury, opened in 1853, was soon followed by middle-class schools, for boys and girls, by the completion of the Lamborne national schools, and the erection of a master's house in 1856; by the building of a school and mistress's house at Eastbury; by the addition (mainly through the energy of one of the curates), of a fine large organ in 1859, which added greatly to the attractiveness of the services; and finally by the thorough restoration of the chancel of the grand parish Church in 1861, the body of the Church having been restored previously. In all these good works, which were effected at a considerable sacrifice of private fortune, Mr. Milman had the advantage of the services of the then young and rising Architect, now a Royal Academician and of established reputation, Mr. G. E. Street, with whom he formed a great friendship, and who is now on the London Committee of the "Bishop Milman Memorial Fund." These external works were but tokens of, and went side by side with, a deeper change in the character of the parish. The picture of the vicar and his colleagues in their Lamborne days is one of no common ardour and self-devotion. Mr. Milman was continually amongst his parishioners, preaching usually three times on each Sunday at Lamborne or at Eastbury, and three times in the week; speaking to his people by cottage lectures, night schools, and all agencies by which he could influence them for good; beginning each day with prayers in Church, and each Sunday with a celebration of the Holy Communion, and spending and being spent for his people with absolute self-devotion. His curates shared his spirit and his labours; and from 1858 he had the advantage—how great that advantage was, India does not need to be told—of the co-operation of his sister. One story of their Lamborne days is so characteristic of the man, that we cannot forbear repeating it. No one cared more for all manly sport than the late Bishop, but he was deeply convinced of the abuses of the turf, and, having racing stables in his own parish, knew only too well to what evils they led. On one occasion when he had refused permission for the church bells to be rung in honor of the victory of a celebrated Lamborne horse, the ringers obtained access to the tower, and locking themselves in, rang a peal. Mr. Milman could not restrain his indignation. Powerless to stop the peal, he summoned the ringers before the magistrates; and on the following Sunday, preached so vehemently upon the abuses of the turf, that no one ventured to trifle with him again. Yet

though he lamented the abuses of horse-racing, no one attended with greater care to those who were employed in the trainers' stables; and the confidence with which that care was returned, may have been seen even in India, when more than one Lamborne jockey found his way to the Bishop's Palace as to a natural home.

In 1862, at the repeated request of Bishop Wilberforce, and to the intense regret of Lamborne, Mr. Milman moved to Great Marlow in Buckinghamshire. It was a real act of self-sacrifice, for the income of his new living was smaller, the population and responsibility far greater than at Lamborne. There was moreover a miserable vicarage house, and though there had been an earnest and diligent clergyman, he had sunk beneath the load of work with utterly inadequate means to master it, and Marlow needed the same sort of vigorous and kindly care which had been spent with such effect on Lamborne. Two of Mr. Milman's curates moved with him to Marlow; one of whom was his right hand for nine years, and is now a Proctor in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury. All the machinery of a well-worked parish was gradually introduced. There were frequent and hearty services in the Church, classes for communicants, for old women, for mill-girls, and for boys. The outlying parts of the parish were made to feel the influence of the Church. The schools were improved. There was one desideratum which the vicar on leaving the parish asked the people steadily to keep in view—the addition of a chancel to the Church; and it is a matter of touching interest, that before these lines can appear in print, on September 14th, this new chancel will have been opened as a parochial memorial of the vicar whom they had known and loved and lost.

Late in 1866, it fell to Lord Cranborne, now Marquis of Salisbury, to fill the vacancy in the See of Calcutta, caused by the lamented death of Bishop Cotton. It will be in the recollection of our readers, that then as now, the See was declined by several distinguished clergymen who felt unable to leave England. When at last it was known that the Bishopric had been accepted by the Vicar of Great Marlow, men only heard that he was a friend of Bishop Wilberforce and a nephew of the celebrated Dean of St. Paul's. The *Friend of India* deliberately ran him down as a Ritualist; and succeeding, as he did, one who at a difficult crisis had administered the large diocese in Christendom with conspicuous success, and who had been cut off in the height of his usefulness, it must be admitted that Bishop Milman had a difficult task before him on his arrival. And yet, had any Anglo-Indian visited at that time Great Marlow and learned the tender regard in which the late vicar was held, and the sorrow of the parishioners at his departure, and had he, inquiring further, ascertained the self

sacrifice which had marked Mr. Milman's whole English career, and the respect with which the diocese looked up to him and the value attached to his writings, he might have been assured that the choice of the Crown had fallen on one worthy to occupy the chair of Heber, Wilson and Cotton. How that responsibility has been discharged for the past nine years is now well known.

The work that lies before a Bishop of Calcutta when he comes to this country is of such a varied, complex, and overwhelming character, that it is very difficult for the English public, who know India only from books and papers, to understand it. To judge from the Act of 1813, by which the See was constituted, nothing seems more simple. A Bishop is the head of the Government Ecclesiastical Establishment, and his functions are simply such as the Sovereign shall define. But the India of 1876 is not the India of 1813; and the national conception of a Bishop's function and duties has changed, at least as much as the character of England's Indian Empire. As a matter of fact, no attempt has ever been made to enforce the extraordinary provisions of the Acts of 1813 and 1833 with respect to the Indian Episcopate, and to make the Royal Letters Patent supersede Prayer-book and Ordinal in defining episcopal functions. The enactments have remained and must remain a dead letter. The distinct functions of the Church and the State are now far more clearly discerned than half a century ago; and it is understood, that though the State can give authority to constitute a See and can nominate the Bishop, the Church then steps in as a separate and independent power, creates the Bishop, and gives him the full responsibilities and functions of a Bishop of the Church of Christ. No Indian Bishop, since Heber's consecration, has ever thought of regarding himself merely as a Government official or as a Bishop of the governing race. We have contemporary evidence that even in the earliest days of the Indian Episcopate, it was with this higher conception of England's duty, and without any thought that Acts of Parliament could really limit his sphere of action, that a Bishop was sent forth. Thus, writing to a friend in 1823, the late Bishop Sumner of Winchester says, "Heber, I hope, is the new Bishop of Calcutta. He will do for this situation. . . . It is indeed a station of awful responsibility and deep interest, and the man who goes out there with right feelings may well ask 'who is sufficient for these things?' But if an uncultivated field for exertion—if millions of ignorant souls—if corruptions and abominations of fearful extent and deepest dye can stir up Christian energies and warm to exertion a heart which has a sense of vital religion—then the Bishop of Calcutta is a man who has before him a high and honourable course to run, in which an evangelist even of the older time would find full scope for his abilities and a pressing call

upon his self-devotion." It is in this spirit that successive Bishops of Calcutta have fulfilled their office, and it may be doubted whether any See in Christendom has been filled, during the present century, by more remarkable or more devoted men.

Bishop Milman succeeded to the Bishopric when the chief diocesan need was not so much organisation,—which had been admirably done by his predecessor after the disintegration and confusion caused by the mutiny,—as consolidation and deepening of the spiritual life. What was needed, was by a conspicuous example, and by teaching to which, because of that example, men would listen, to make a spirit of reality and earnestness pervade the lives of European and Native Christians alike, to raise the whole tone of society, to give a unity to the scattered Christian congregations, to draw men together in spite of the natural tendency to cliques and divisions, to enforce upon Europeans their responsibility with respect to their native fellow subjects, to prosecute vigorously by every legitimate means the missionary work of the church, to represent Christianity worthily to the world without, and to draw together Christian, Muhammadan, and Hindu by acts of thoughtful kindness and forbearance. We doubt if for this special work a fitter instrument could have been raised up. Bishop Milman found himself in 1866 at the head of a diocese stretching from Mhow and the Punjab frontier on the west, to Independent Burma on the east, and containing nearly a million square miles, or two-thirds of all India. For territory under three local governments—the smallest larger than the entire Presidency of Bombay—four local administrations, and two large political agencies, he was the sole Bishop of the Anglican communion. Scattered over this vast area, as we learn from Sir R. Temple's speech at the meeting held in Calcutta on April 11th, in upwards of 300 stations, are some 100,000 Europeans and East Indians connected with the Church of England, soldiers, civilians, merchants, tea planters, indigo planters, clerks, railway servants, and the like, ministered to by about 120 clergy residing in 105 stations and visiting the other stations from thence at the Bishop's discretion. Of native Christians connected with the Church of England, we have, according to the same authority, 469 congregations, numbering about 26,000 souls. And when to this is added supervision of all the clergy, numbering now 244, and the care of all the churches and cemeteries scattered over the country, and the necessity of cherishing and developing the various educational agencies set on foot by Bishop Cotton and the diocesan organisations and funds, whether branches of English societies or of Indian origin, it must be admitted that a stronger heart than Bishop Milman's might have shrunk from the responsibility of his position. How much more, when he considered that these scattered flocks who looked to him as their chief shepherd

were but a handful in comparison with the 150 millions of heathen amongst whom they lived, and whom with that intense longing to which his episcopate bore witness, he yearned to gather in to his Master's fold.

It is characteristic of the man that Bishop Milman has left comparatively few materials for a detailed biography. Of all characters, that of which he had the most abhorrence, was the hypocrite's, and his intense reality often led him to place the most rigorous restraint on his feelings and his conduct lest he should give to others the impression of being better than he really was. This self-restraint is evident in every page of his journals which we have been privileged to see. He never wrote a line which might make any one think that he had done or was doing anything out of the common. Journeys and work involving physical fatigue that astonished the hardest-working officials in India, are chronicled cursorily as matters of every-day occurrence. There must be some in the Punjab now who remember the impression produced by the Bishop's going down from Murree to Peshawur in June 1868, to take the Chaplain's work for 10 days, when after 6 weeks' travelling in the hills and plains in the hot weather he had just reached Murree with the intention of resting for three months. All this is dismissed in a few sentences in his journal—"There being no Chaplain available," explaining everything; and there is an equally terse record on his return to Murree June 24th. "Laid up with fever, much pain in limbs for 4 days." It is as though it could not have occurred to any one to have done anything else, though at the age of 52, and during his second hot season, he was exposing himself after several previous alternations of climate to the most trying of Indian stations at the most trying time. Bishop Milman had indeed a positive aversion to writing anything about himself or chronicling anything that he had done. Hence, with the exception of his journals which we have already characterised, there is but little material for compiling an account of his long and interesting tours, and the chief events of his episcopate beyond the recollections of his chaplains and friends. Even to his friends at home he wrote but scanty records, particularly in the later years of his episcopate when the work grew round him more and more; and he always felt this necessary breaking of communication with English friends as one of the trials of his position. Partly from disinclination to business in the strictly limited sense of that term, and partly from a feeling that the higher and more spiritual work of the episcopate was the more important, and his special vocation, he left to his domestic Chaplains a more than usually large share of the diocesan correspondence; but when he was called upon to write himself letters of counsel or rebuke, or to advise on difficult questions of doctrine and discipline, such as arise from time to

time owing to the peculiar circumstances of the church in India, or are inseparable from the growth of a nascent church, Bishop Milman could write with discernment, judgment, and breadth of view, which make us hope that some of these letters may one day be given to the public. Otherwise, though these letters and his English writings show what he was capable of writing, his episcopate will not be chiefly remembered for what he wrote, nor for great feats of policy or organisation, but rather for the deep impress of a character which has left a distinct mark on India, even beyond the limit of the communion which he ruled. •

What this character was will be best seen by a brief retrospect of the episcopate now prematurely closed. On reaching Calcutta early in April 1867, Bishop Milman at once set to work vigorously to master the languages, and to acquaint himself with the nature and position of the Anglican Church in India. Not content with this, or rather that he might understand this the better, he studied the history of the country and tried to enter, by every means in his power, into the subtlety of Oriental thought. On the 17th of May, he began his first visitation by crossing over to Burma, returning on July 1st.; and as the mark which the Bishop has left on the country is largely due to these visitation tours, it may be well to state here wherein their value chiefly lay. At each European station the Bishop was usually the guest of the chief military or civil authority, or of some personal friend. During his stay he would visit the military hospitals and schools, show an interest in everything that concerned the welfare of the troops, and frequently address the soldiers at some informal meeting in the school, theatre or prayer-room, in addition to any sermon or address in Church. "Self-inspection," "courage," "the religions of India," "Buddhism" (delivered in Burma), "the Bible" are the subjects of some of the addresses thus given to British soldiers; and in the later years of his Episcopate, when a council in England, with the support and approval of the Chaplain-General, had started a "Guild of the Holy Standard" for the purpose of encouraging religion in the army, Bishop Milman threw himself into the movement with his usual energy; recommended the chaplains to form branches in their several stations; frequently addressed the guildsmen and others invited to attend the meetings, finally became warden of the Diocesan Ward of the Guild, and had the happiness before his death of learning that great good had already resulted from the Guild, and that the number of members was steadily increasing. The civil part of the community received no less care and attention. On his first visitation in 1867, he addressed the Railway servants at Allahabad in their Reading-room, in connection with which there is the following entry in his journal:—
"I preached up courtesy and sobriety as Christian testimony in a

heathen land." Similarly, at Lahore in November 1868, he addressed the Railway employes on the importance of morality and piety for English people in India. At Lucknow more than once, through the energy of the Civil Chaplain, he met a considerable number of East Indians at a social gathering, and entered with a sympathy, which a stranger might little have expected beneath that rugged exterior, into all the wants and difficulties of a class for which he felt strongly that too little had been done. A confirmation was almost always a part of the visitation programme at each station, and the earnestness and manly vigour of the Bishop's addresses have arrested many besides those for whom they were specially intended. Then he would enter, with the Chaplain and with the laity with whom he was brought into contact, into the religious and educational needs of the station and district. The answers to the articles of enquiry which had been previously sent to each clergyman, gave him a considerable insight into the condition of the Christian population, and topics thus suggested were often discussed either with the Church Committees, which at an early period of his episcopate he had established with the co-operation of Government, or at larger conferences of clergy and laity. A list of subjects discussed at one of such conferences in 1867 lies before us as we write, and is thoroughly characteristic of the Bishop's regard for all classes of the community. It embraces the following spiritual needs of the Christian population—Sunday and day schools, appointment of Church committees, proposal to establish lay readers and sub-deacons, development of missions.

It will be observed that the development of missions was to be discussed at a conference not of native but of European Christians, and this precisely represents Bishop Milman's deeply-rooted conviction of the responsibility of Europeans with respect to the evangelisation of the country. At stations where there were both chaplains and missionaries, he never lost an opportunity of drawing them and their flocks together. He delighted in being the Bishop and friend of the poorest native Christian as well as of the highest official in the land. In view of a proposal which he understood to have been entertained by the missionary societies at home, to establish purely Missionary Bishoprics with jurisdiction over native Christians only, he endorsed the emphatic words of Bishop Cotton (Preface to Chafge for 1863, p.p. 12-13.) that such a proposal "would be likely to cause practical evils of which it is difficult to foresee the end. It would divide the Indian Church into two separate portions, and introduce into it distinctions of race scarcely less fatal than those of caste from which native believers are with difficulty delivered. There is already too little connection between Asiatic and European Christians ; too little

sympathy between the missionaries and the ministers of English congregations. The fact that they have all a common diocesan is, or ought to be, the chief outward bond of union between them. The Bishop's influence ought to prevent the chaplains from neglecting to take interest in missionary work, and the Europeans from treating with indifference their native brethren in Christ. Even under our present constitution these evils are often apparent. If two different episcopates were introduced side by side, the two races would begin to think that they belonged to different churches, almost to different religions." Accounts of Bishop Milman's visitations of Lahore and Umritsur in 1872 and 1875 lie before us, and exactly illustrate the way in which he understood his responsibilities. Official duties, spiritual needs of Europeans, supervision and development of missions, are attended to with equal care. One day the Bishop is visiting the Lahore schools or confirming at the station church. Another day he is addressing in Urdu the students of the excellent Divinity School founded by the Rev. T. V. French of the Church Missionary Society, or confirming some native candidates in the humble temporary mission church. At Umritsur he is the guest of his old friend the Commissioner, who bears a name honoured in India. He visits all the educational establishments which have made the organisation of the C. M. S. Mission in that city remarkable, the orphanages, boys' and girls' schools, and Normal training school; confirms now in the station church, now in the mission church; presides over a meeting of laymen to discuss questions connected with the church, whether European or Asiatic, examines candidates for ordination, both European and native, and ordains them in the mission church; preaches in the station church on behalf of the local mission, meets the leading native Christians at a social meal at the mission: accepts an invitation to lunch with some native Christian ladies, and conducts family prayers before leaving; presides at the opening meeting of the Punjab Church Missionary Society's conference. One is at a loss to know, while reading the accounts of such visit, whether to admire most the many-sidedness with which the Bishop threw himself into work of such varied character, or the energy and endurance which enabled him to grapple with a task which would have borne down a weaker or less resolute man.

For we cannot forget that the power which he developed of appreciating Oriental thought and entering into the difficulties of a missionary was a laboriously acquired gift. Few men coming to India for the first time at the age of 51, and necessarily immersed in English work, would be able at 60 to preach, without notes, in Hindi, Urdu and Bengali, to conduct services in some of the less known dialects and varieties of these languages as well, and

to show the same wide acquaintance with Eastern literature, as Bishop Milman had obtained in nine years. Though he always studied with one *munshi*, and often with two during his residence in Calcutta, his knowledge of the languages was chiefly acquired on tour, in trains, *dâk garis*, boats, *palkies*. An Arabic or Persian grammar would often occupy a dusty journey or a boat passage down the 'Indus. Occasional entries in his journals show how important the Bishop considered this to be. Thus, on August 22nd, 1867, four or five months only after his arrival, he writes,—"I managed part of the service [at Ghanjra] and the Benediction in Bengali. Mr. Driberg said the rest of the service, and interpreted my addresses. Mr. Harrison read the Preface. God forgive me for undertaking the Bishopric without more knowledge of the language." We find him able to read Hindustani addresses at a confirmation at Patnaa week afterwards. Again on October 11th, he confirmed 4 English and 7 native candidates, and made two English addresses, but we find this entry also, "Read my second address to the natives afterwards in Urdu." Three days later at Meerut, he distributed the prizes at the mission school and writes—"Talked with native gentry a very little afterwards. *Deus det linguam scientium.*" And again the same day after laying the first stone of a new mission church.—"Made a written address in Urdu, which I hope was understood." On November 10th, 1867, he writes:—"Preached in mission church [Lucknow] in Urdu. Could not see very well, but was tolerably intelligible. Must have more time to read over Urdu sermons. Viceroy and others unexpectedly present." A month later (December 3rd, 1867) at Taljhari he conducts a confirmation service in Santhali "written in Roman characters," and adds humorously: "Got through the service with tolerable success, notwithstanding my total ignorance and the clucks which are difficult of utterance." Later on we find him addressing candidates in Urdu without MSS. Here is an entry made at Kangra, May 17th 1868: "I made 2 addresses, rather jumbling and ungrammatical. I cannot tell how much I was understood, but I think it is needful to appear to do my best when I hope I can do so sincerely." We find a more cheerful entry made at Goruckpore, November 22nd 1869. The Bishop was stirred up by the mission work there, conducted, as he says, with "unwearied energy, wisdom, love," and writes, "I made two addresses, I think intelligibly and clearly. The service occasion was so good that I believe I was roused by this." A week later he makes an apologetic entry about his having addressed the educated natives at Mozufferpore in English and not in the vernacular. "I fear many did not understand English, but I cannot trust myself in Urdu yet." Later, as is well known, the Bishop was able to speak with considerable

fluency in Urdu and Hindi, and to speak grammatically and without MSS. in Bengali; though he never mastered the Bengali accent as well as those of the former languages. On the occasion of his last visit through the villages connected with the S. P. G. Chota Nagpur Mission in 1875, he astonished the people by conducting the confirmation, with the help of the missionaries, not in Hindi, which many could not understand, but in their own local dialects. . . .

This laborious study of Eastern language and literature was of the greatest value to Bishop Milman in what was one of the most striking features of his visitations—the addresses which he delivered at the large centres to educated natives. Though spoken in English, they were often illustrated by apt quotations from Persian or Sanskrit writings, and they always showed a profound knowledge of the religious needs and aspirations of India. Delivered at the suggestion or request sometimes of missionaries, sometimes of members of the Brahma Samáj, sometimes of a local literary society or of leading natives, without any thought of a religious end, they were deliberately intended by the Bishop as part of his contribution to the missionary work of the church. The title might not imply a religious discussion, and the lecture would in any case be different from a sermon and would impart both thoughts and information of other than a religious character; but the aim and object was in every case the same, and the Bishop would never consent to lecture unless he were free to speak his mind about Christianity. It is a real misfortune that only one of these remarkable addresses was written down and preserved. A second was written after delivery, and sent to England to be printed, but was lost in transmission. At Delhi, Agra and Cawnpore, the Bishop lectured on "Truth" in 1867, and on "Revelation" in 1871. "Eclecticism" is the title of a very able lecture delivered before the Burrabazar Family Literary Club in Calcutta. We find him lecturing in August 1869 at Dacca, on the Parallel to India afforded by the Roman Empire at the Time of its Conversion to Christianity. The same year he lectured on "Progress" at Nagpore and on "Back-bone" at Jubbulpore. "Faith," "Man," "Enlightenment," "Prevention better than Cure," "Epic Poetry," "Decision"—gave subject matter for other lectures which were usually delivered in more places than one. Some of the Bishop's entries in his journal about these lectures have a touching interest. Thus, with reference to an address to Bengali enquirers at Dinapore or Patna on September 2nd 1867, he says: "Took line of nobility of enquiry befitting men as God's creatures and leading, as in Justin Martyr, to rest. Doctrine of Trinity unspeakably comfortable in present astonishing discoveries of science. Very attentive, and very interest-

ing lecture. May it bear fruit: about 200 present." At Delhi October 17th, 1867 he writes: "Made my address on Truth, as the aggregate of all facts and specially eternal facts, and our relation to them. A good attendance of native gentry: rather too many boys. I spoke for an hour and a half, and I heard afterwards that the natives received the address well, and that it was well adapted for the Missionary's object in asking for it. *Deus misereatur.*" November 22nd, 1867, "addressed about 500 educated natives [at Benares] on "Faith." Much attention shown. I hope it may have some fruit." February 20th, 1869,—"Spoke [to educated natives at Nagpore on "Progress"] for 1½ hour, and urged conversion on them with all my power." Speaking of a deputation of native zemindars and two addresses which he received on his visit to Cuttack, January 2nd, 1868, the Bishop, writes—"They were very kindly in tone. I endeavoured to keep the same, though I hope without any forfeiture of plain truth." We notice here the same uncompromising fidelity to the great principles of his life. Two days before he was confined to the bed of sickness which he never left, he was to have lectured to the English-speaking natives, chiefly clerks in Government offices at Peshawur, but owing to the rain and to the already too evident symptoms of illness the lecture was put off. It is not unfitting that the last of these striking addresses should have been delivered to a crowded audience at the Town Hall, Umritsur, in November 1875, on a subject which could admit of no disguise, and which gave opportunity for as true a missionary heart as ever beat to give utterance to the yearnings of a life-time: "The offence of the Cross," and none who ever heard it will easily forget that grand apology for a Christian's faith.

The fact that more than one of these addresses were delivered in school-rooms connected with Non-conformist missions raises the question of Bishop Milman's relation to Christian bodies, external to the Church of England. An uncompromising Churchman himself, he yet felt the necessity for Christians in their unhappy divisions to present as united a front as possible to the heathen world without. Hence he discouraged party-spirit within the church, and without any forfeiture of truth drew together men of many minds. After approving of some internal improvements in a church, he wrote in 1871: "I hope, however, there will be no overdoing of these externals. Hard, earnest, faithful, Godly work is what is everywhere most appreciated by our hard-working Indian laymen". He ignored parties; and whether a man was "High Church" or "Low Church", if he worked earnestly he was sure of his Bishop's care and sympathy. Supporters of the two great Missionary Societies of the Church may at times be narrow enough to look coldly on each other in England, but Bishop Milman asked no questions about C. M. S. or

S. P. G.; enough for him that a clergyman was a missionary in his diocese to entitle him to whatever sympathy and help his Bishop could give; and though it might have been supposed that his theological sympathies inclined rather to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society has placed it on record that the Bishop really died in his own Society's cause. It was not unnatural therefore that Bishop Milman should preside at meetings of the British and Foreign Bible Society, without which he felt that many of the Church's missions would be unable to carry on their work, and that on his visitation tours he should visit the institutions of missions not connected with the Church of England when their friends desired it. Accordingly we find him familiar, from personal experience, with some of the missionary organisations of the American Baptists in Burma (*he was particularly struck with Dr. Binney's Karen College at Rangoon*), Assam and Orissa; the American Presbyterians at Lahore, Loodiana, Rawul Pindie, Gujranwala; the American Episcopal Methodists in Rohilcund, the London Missionary Society at Benares and in Kumaon, the Free Church of Scotland in the Central Provinces, the German Evangelical Lutherans in Tirhoot, the Welsh Presbyterians at Cherrapoonjee, the Roman Catholics at Kamptee, Rangoon and Mandalay, and others whom we have not named. Of the Baptist orphanage at Cuttack he writes in January 1868: "It must be a great pleasure to feel that so many have been saved from death and are now receiving this Christian education through the mission." At Almora in 1869 he addresses the Christian inmates of the Native Leper Asylum, at the request of the missionary of the London Missionary Society. With another distinguished missionary of the same Society he formed an acquaintance that only needed time and opportunities for meeting to ripen into friendship. With all there was an interchange of kindly courtesies, an acknowledgment of good honest work wherever it was to be found, and a word of encouragement to those who were engaged in work akin to his own; and thus, without a suspicion of sacrifice of principle, the Bishop's visitation had usually an influence for good beyond the limits of his own communion, and men felt that the highest ecclesiastical official of the State could also be the accepted representative of Christianity in India.

The accumulated experience which this survey of mission work, both within and without the church, gave to one who with an already well informed mind had made Eastern thought a study, made Bishop Milman a considerable authority upon the difficult questions which from time to time arose in planting the church in India. He came to be more and more convinced of the necessity of a thorough reform in the conduct of mission schools.

We find continual reference to this in his journals. In October 1867, he writes at Cawnpore: "All very promising as far as education is concerned. Only small Christian results. Many, however, enquiring. The missionaries hopeful." At Lucknow, where he was particularly struck with the excellence of all the educational establishments, he writes in November 1867: "About the same Christian fruit is visible here from the schools as in other places: a little and that good, but certainly little as yet." A little later he regrets the lack of Christians at Joynarain's College at Benares; highly approves of the orphanages, but remarks of the other schools: "There is much future promise, but the immediate results are still limited. Similar observations follow in 1868 with reference to two large mission schools in the Punjab. Late in 1869, when his experience had been considerably greater, he breaks out into a distinct expression of dissatisfaction with the system. Writing of a school in Rohilcund he says: "There was no Christian boy in the school. I was asked to say a few words, which I did, but I cannot appreciate very highly the school mission work. Its results are very doubtful—I am not sure whether better than those of Government schools." Two years later, when he had now been all over India, the Bishop makes a definite complaint: Here there seems the same misunderstanding of the method of teaching Christianity to absolute heathen, which is so universally prevalent. They are taught the facts, say of the Old Testament history, without any real spiritual interpretation. The difficulties are neither pointed out nor solved. I cannot see that the consciences are even awakened, much less formed or disciplined by the scriptural instruction. I am going, indeed, now on small grounds as I did not hear much, but the plan is so palpable, and to me so palpably painful, that a little of it is enough to manifest and condemn it. I fear that I shall not be able to get the missionaries to share my feelings. They seem wedded every where to this strange unbusinesslike and really unchristian system, and I cannot get much attention paid to my suggestions. At least no alteration is apparent." And again, "There is no system of Christian instruction. The missionaries never seem to have any definite idea or plan in their minds. They are very often unsound and inaccurate in many points. Calvinism in any shape is especially unsuited in Indian missions. Altogether I fear that while mission schools seem a necessity, they are, as they are worked now, very unlikely to have any definite Christian results." . . . The Government school undermines the superstitious as much as the mission school. Whether the latter schools do not in some cases actually prejudice the truth is a difficult question." We add one further entry from the same year (1871) "They sang hymns. Christian hymns seemed out of place in the mouths of heathen

(mostly) children, but this is the way of missions, and I think, one of the causes of insufficient success, as there is the usual want of distinction between Christians and non-Christians." We have purposely suppressed the names of the schools and missions to which these remarks applied, nor have we indicated which were and which were not connected with the Church of England, because they represent Bishop Milman's opinion, which he never changed with reference to the whole subject of missionary education. He thought, that with some exceptions, the system needed a thorough reform in schools connected with the church and in those connected with other societies alike, or rather that a clear definite system needed to be created.

We have perhaps sufficiently indicated the character of Bishop Milman's visitation work; the thoroughness with which he entered into every phase of church work connected either with Europeans or with Asiatics, taking a personal part in it himself, so that he was at once the chief chaplain and the chief missionary of his diocese; and the laborious care with which he prepared himself for this duty. But it ought not to be omitted that he generally made time to show an intelligent interest in other than religious work, and in all that tended to develop the resources and humanize the character of the country of his adoption. Many a master of a Government secular school has eagerly looked forward to his expected visit. Jails, lunatic asylums, hospitals, medical schools, and all institutions calculated to relieve misery or advance the nation, he considered that a Christian Bishop should help forward and encourage. We need not refer to his exertions on behalf of the Lady Canning Home for training nurses at Calcutta, which would scarcely have come into being but for the Bishop's energy and determination. He never forgot that he was a citizen as well as—and all the more *because* he was—a Christian; and he sought to identify himself by every means in his power with the inhabitants of the country which had become his home.

The extent and character of Bishop Milman's visitation tours have no parallel in the history of an Indian See. It is not simply that he travelled over more ground, for that would follow from the increased facilities for communication. The amount of work which was crowded into these tours and the physical endurance which it entailed, made the Bishop conspicuous even in a country where hard work among officials is the rule. The greater ease and rapidity of communication, as was well pointed out by the Archdeacon of Calcutta at the meeting called to do honour to Bishop Milman on April 11th, in reality makes a Bishop's work in such a diocese as Calcutta harder instead of easier; for, as there is always more work than he can do, he is thereby enabled and being enabled, is compelled to do a much greater amount of work.

in a shorter time. The easy pleasant marching which formed so agreeable a season of retirement to a Bishop in the old time is impossible in these days, when he has to travel by night and work by day, and thinks himself fortunate when he is allowed to stay for a few days at the comfortable houses where he is always made a welcome guest. To travel in this way for eight months in each year, in hot and cold weather, over a tract of country characterised by climates as various as those of Europe, and to keep to a printed programme all this time, which rarely gives a week at the same station, as if health could be as much depended on as an Indian sun, will at least be considered trying; and yet this is what Bishop Milman did for nine years. The journeys by themselves, let alone the work at the stations, were often enough to daunt a younger man. On each of the two occasions of his going down the Punjab frontier, he had difficulties of this kind to contend with. In 1868, after hurrying with unprecedented rapidity from Peshawar to Dera Ismail Khan by horse-dak, carriage and *palky*, passing through Kohat, Bunnoo and Sheikh Budin, he dropped down the river by boat to Dera Ghazi Khan, ill all the time, and was indebted to a steamer which he met for some medicine which somewhat relieved him. Yet, though still ill, he left nothing undone at Dera Ghazi Khan; held a confirmation, about which he modestly wrote: "I made two addresses as well as I could in my fever," and pushed on to Multan to be there on the appointed day. In 1872 he had a rough night-journey by moonlight from the Indus to Bunnoo, a distance of about 64 miles, partly on horseback, partly by mail cart, being on the verge once of riding into a quick-sand, and riding and driving back after one night at the station. In 1869 he meets with difficulties in crossing from Meerut to Mooradabad: "Two ferries and other difficulties. About 15 miles from Mooradabad I stuck fast and had to sit under a tree for 3 or 4 hours, and went on afterwards by bullocks and buffaloes." In 1873 he astonished the officials in the Central Provinces by travelling by bullock coach from Nagpore to Raipore and back, a distance of 360 miles, and returning on the eighth day, after consecrating two churches (Raipore and Bhundara) and two cemeteries, spending the Sunday at Raipore and pausing on his journey only for 2 hours for breakfast and two for dinner in the 24 hours. In the rains of 1875, during his Assam tour, the horse which he was driving from Sebsaugor to Nazerah for a Sunday service broke down, and the Bishop had to walk four miles, just before noon, on the hottest day which the thermometer had recorded during the year. After some refreshment he preached to the planters, who had gathered for service, and riding back nine miles to Sebsaugor in the afternoon, took a second service for the residents at once, having officiated there early previously; and the next morning was up early

visiting the various schools. When it is considered that this fatigue was undertaken by an over-worked man of nearly 60, it will appear the more remarkable ; but the sad journey which removed him from our midst early in the current year, proved that these extraordinary powers of endurance could be fatally overstrained.

But it was the combination of physical fatigue with unrelaxing brain-work that chiefly distinguished Bishop Milman's visitation tours. The diocese had never been so thoroughly and regularly visited before. Numerous small stations and missionary outposts were visited by a Bishop for the first time ; and often, as a result of these visits, fresh churches sprang up or services began to be held on Sunday when the day had been but little observed before.

An episcopal visitation should be held once in three years, and in spite of his gigantic diocese, Bishop Milman very nearly succeeded in achieving the task. Only twice in his episcopate did he seek any rest at a hill station during the hot weather. The first occasion in 1868 has already been alluded to, as also the self-denial with which the earlier part of that short rest was given up. The Bishop took the opportunity of his being at Murree this year to visit Cashmere. The only other occasion was in 1871, when he spent four months at Mussoorie ; visiting, however, from thence Annfield, Chakrata, Koorkee and Dehra. These were really the only periods of leisure for study which he enjoyed during his life in India, and he writes with pleasure of his studying at Mussoorie, Persian, Urdu, Theology, and a little Bengali, and examining a box of books which he had received : "Most of it a mass of unorthodoxy, but I hope (he adds) the reading may be useful, 'Thy word is truth.' It certainly comes out more and more as the truth, the more it is studied." At Mussoorie, too, he gave Wednesday evening lectures on the principal present difficulties in religion and their practical solution in Christ crucified, connected with which there is, in his journal, this characteristic entry : "There was a large attendance for a week day at first, but after a time it diminished. One very long lecture I fear repelled several people, and the evening was continually wet. I hope, however, I have myself thought out several problems with greater care and exactness in consequence, and if opportunity should occur, prepared myself to discuss these points with greater patience, humility, and comprehension."

Bishop Milman's first visitation of his diocese began on May 17th, 1869, and ended on June 8th, 1870. He had in this time traversed the whole Province of Bengal, (including as it then did Assam), the N.-W. Provinces, the Punjab, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India and British Burma. The experience gained in this tour enabled him to arrange his time in future, and the plan which he adopted, in

rough outline, was as follows: Calcutta was his head-quarters for the first half of each year, though he made short tours in Bengal, which occupied altogether about two months out of the six. Then in the rains he would visit Burmah, or Assam, and East Bengal, and as the visitation was triennial, for at least one season in every three, he might have rested; but only on the two occasions, to which we have before alluded, 1868 and 1871, would he retire to a hill station. In 1874 he remained in Calcutta until July, and then began, thus early, his long tour for the year. These long tours which occupied, to speak generally, the last four months of each year, usually began with some of the hill stations, which were visited rapidly and without any thought of rest in September and sometimes part of October; stations in the plains being visited *en route*, so that there was no consecutive sojourn in the hills. The Bishop always tried to be in Calcutta again by Christmas, if it were possible. In this way the North-Western Provinces, (except Rohilcund) and Oudh were visited in 1867, 1871 and 1874; Rohilcund, Central Provinces and Central India in 1869 and 1873, the Punjab in 1868, 1872 and 1875. These constituted the long tours, the latter part of 1870 being occupied with a Metropolitcal tour through Madras, Ceylon and Bombay, of which, unfortunately, the Bishop kept no journal and has left the scantiest memorials. Burma was visited in 1867, 1870, and 1873 with unfailing regularity; Assam and East Bengal with equal regularity in 1869, 1872 and 1875; the Andamans in 1870 and 1874. As the visitation of Bengal consisted of a series of small tours, it is hard to speak of the province as a whole, but we observe that Darjeeling and stations along the Loop line of the East Indian Railway, were visited in 1870, 1873 and 1875; Tirhoot and North Bengal in 1869 and 1874 (during the famine), and Orissa in 1867-68 and 1872. The principal mission fields of the two Church Societies in Bengal, those of the Church Missionary Society in the Kishnaghur district and in the Santhal Pergunnahs, and those of the Propagation Society in the Sunderbunds and in Chota Nagpore, were tended with watchful care; the Bishop's visits to them being at the least triennial, while to Chota Nagpore he went five times, in 1869, 1870, 1872, 1873 and 1875. It was always a matter of regret to him that, owing to the overwhelming size of his diocese, he could not visit these missions regularly every year. It would be impossible in the space at our disposal to give an epitome of these interesting tours. Their effect on India generally, is seen by the way in which the country was stirred from Cape Comorin to Peshawur at the news of the Bishop's death, and by the words in which a retiring Viceroy gave expression, at once to a strong personal feeling and to an universal grief. But we may perhaps just notice a few prominent features

in these tours before passing on. The first impressions of a strange country on a man of thought are always worth noticing, and Burma, as the scene of his first visitation tour, had always a special interest for him. "I have great hopes" he writes at Rangoon on May 30th 1867, "that eventually great conversions may take place among the kindly and honest people, who like the English and are much liked by them." He was much struck with the American Baptist Karen College under the direction of Dr. Binney, and constantly deplored the comparative weakness of the Propagation Society's missions; feeling, as his predecessor had done, that it was impossible for a Bishop of Calcutta to do justice to Burma, and that Rangoon needed a Bishop of its own to be at the head of the entire Anglican Church in that Province, and to head, in Bishop Cotton's words, missions "as vigorous, aggressive and widely spread among the purely Burmese population, as those of the American Baptists have been among the Karens." In 1870, and again in 1873, Bishop Milman continued his visitation up the Irrawaddy as far as Mandalay, where a mission of the Propagation Society had now been established, and on the latter occasion he had an interview with the King. In 1867 there had been a difficulty, which the Bishop thus records in his journal: "I had asked for a seat as I cannot sit on my haunches without difficulty. Moreover it looks rather too like adoration, especially with this King. I find it is contrary to their etiquette for any but a religious, in the Buddhist sense of the word, to have such a recognition, and therefore it seems to imply an inferiority of Christianity, if I consent to waive the application." The Bishop did not regret the *contretemps*, as he thought he noticed a little too much tendency to connect the mission with the Court. "The King," he writes, "seems to have too much hold upon the school, and the impression seems to be general that conversion to Christianity is unlikely to take place in and through the school." A few conversions did take place in later years indirectly through the school, but the subsequent history of the Mandalay mission has shown the general correctness of the Bishop's views.

During the 1873 visitation, a Bishop for the first time visited Tonghoo; and the ecclesiastical questions which were submitted to him then for solution, were as tangled and difficult as the subsequent political questions connected with the boundary between the Karens and the Upper Burmans. The question was, whether to accede to the request of a large body of Karens, who had been converted by agency of American Baptists, that they might be admitted into the communion of the Church of England; and as a similar question arose in 1863 and 1869 in Chota Nagpore, it may be well without re-opening controversy, to state that Bishop Milman entirely accepted the general principle of non-interference with the

work, and the sphere of work, of other religious bodies, as his relations to them abundantly testify; while at the same time he felt that circumstances might arise which would not justify the church in refusing to accede to the request of a large body external to it. He thought that such 'circumstances had arisen in Chota Nagpore with which his name will always be connected, and in this opinion he had the unanimous support of the local officials and European residents. Even those who then thought him mistaken, now that bitter feelings have been allayed, and that in the place of one ill-supported divided mission, two strong missions are working side by side with ample scope for the energy of each, and are bearing Christian fruit to which there is no parallel in the diocese, will probably admit that the Bishop's action has been justified. Similarly at Tonghoo the Bishop gradually came to the conviction after weighing all the evidence, that if the Church of England could afford to send missionaries to the disaffected Karens who desired to join her communion, she would not be justified in refusing, in the belief that unless thus received and cared for, they would, as some have since done, either join the Roman Catholic Mission or lapse into heathenism. The historic places which Bishop Milman visited on his first long tour in 1867, Patna, Meerut, Delhi, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Allahabad, and Benares, had for him an intense interest, and had we space we could quote extracts from his journals which would have an interest even for those who are familiar with the scenes. At Agra he ordained four European missionaries. He was amazed at the grandeur of the Taj, but remarks, "Pity so much good work thrown away on a tomb." At Delhi he consecrated the excellent mission church, built as a memorial of the missionaries and native Christians of Delhi who fell in the mutiny. Of Lucknow he remarks, "I have not seen any place in which there was so much educational activity, or in which the fruits were so promising, intellectually and socially." At Benares he writes, "the C. M. S. work seems very good and thorough as far as I could judge. They gave me a hearty welcome and I gave them all the help and recommendation which I could. I am thankful for the comfort thus given and received."

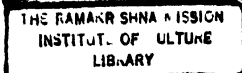
In the Punjab the Bishop was specially struck with the mission work at Umritsur and Peshawur and the Divinity College at Lahore. Of the Umritsur mission he writes in 1867: "One of the most active and satisfactory that I have seen," and he retained this opinion to the last. Peshawur, indeed, has a sad interest, for his last days are connected with it. He had been much struck with the progress made since 1872, had entered into detail of the mission, held an Urdu confirmation, attended the bazaar preaching, administered the communion to the native communi-

cants. His last sermon was in the station-church on behalf of the local mission; and the following morning, when too ill really to stand, he insisted on being present at the distribution of prizes at the mission school, and addressing those present upon the blessings of a Christian education, and then left the school for the sick bed from which he was never to rise. But we must pass on from the notice of these visitation tours. What an impetus he gave to church building throughout the diocese, and how liberally he contributed himself, how munificently he supported the Additional Clergy Society, and laboured to provide his scattered countrymen with the means of grace, there are many in India who can testify. That Ajmere and Cachar have resident clergy is due partly, no doubt, to local liberality, but in no small degree to Bishop Milman's exertions; and to many a railway community throughout the country his familiar face was not simply that of a carnal traveller, but of a messenger of peace.

We have said that the distinguishing feature of Bishop Milman's episcopate is to be looked for, not so much in administrative policy, as in the impression of a character upon the church. Of episcopal charges he has left but two, one written at the end of 1867, after nine months in India, and the other written in 1871; and these are remarkable rather for suggestive thoughts than as noting epochs in the history of a church. The ripened experience of the last five years has unfortunately never been summarised in a charge or pastoral. It seems that the Bishop was anxious to be able to report, in a third charge, that definite steps had been taken to extend the Indian Episcopate. The solution of this question, which had given him the greatest care and anxiety and which was the cause of his summoning an important conference of the Indian Bishops in November 1873, has now passed into other hands. It is far too large a subject for more than a passing allusion here, but a sketch of Bishop Milman's Episcopate would be very incomplete which did not place on record his entire concurrence with his predecessor, in the opinion, that the first great need for the diocese of Calcutta was the formation of two new dioceses which should relieve the Bishop entirely of all episcopal responsibility for Burma on the one side and the Punjab on the other. The foundation of these two Sees, at Lahore and Rangoon, was the main object of his projected visit to England in 1876; and it is satisfactory to know that there is every prospect of the Bishop's wishes being carried out with the co-operation of the Secretary of State, the diocese of Winchester having undertaken to raise an endowment for a See at Rangoon, while the Bishopric of Lahore is being founded as a special memorial of the life and work of Bishop Milman.

Yet, though the bent of his mind was rather towards spiritual

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than towards administrative work, it could not but be, that during the nine years of his episcopate, important questions should press for solution. That excellent institution near the General Hospital at Calcutta, which almost owes its existence to the Bishop, the Lady Canning Home—shows with what energy he could throw himself into the Christian work of providing trained nurses for the sick and suffering; and to omit other and smaller matters, there are two with which Bishop Milman's name will always be associated. One is the assignment of a definite sphere for lay work within the church. Very early in his episcopate he took up the question of church committees which had been bequeathed to him by his predecessor; and after due consultation matured a plan whereby in each station, at least, two laymen should be associated with the chaplain in such church matters as are not strictly of a spiritual character. But a more important step was the appointment of sub-deacons and lay-readers. The Bishop noticed that many laymen would gladly assist the clergy in church, school, hospital, or district work, if they could feel that they were not stepping out of their proper sphere, but were acting under diocesan sanction; and hence he proposed to give a commission to act as sub-deacons or lay-readers, to such as desired either office, and might be recommended for it by the clergy. The number of sub-deacons has steadily increased, the value of their work has been thankfully recognised; and in a country like India, where we can never expect a sufficient number of clergy, the system admits of very large extension.

The other measure with which Bishop Milman's name will be associated, is the development of Anglo-Indian education on the lines laid down by Bishop Cotton. Though not naturally a great educationist, he threw all his energy into the work from the same conscientious sense of duty which characterised him through life. On September 21st, 1871, he consecrated the chapel of the "Bishop Cotton School," Simla; and with reference to this writes in his journal: "In my sermon I alluded to Bishop Cotton and the blessing his work had been to the country in the preparation of good, manly boys and men. Certainly in this age more and more seems to depend on education and the real character of education. Its effect appears to me to remain more surely than it did in earlier times. I imagine it goes deeper into the heart and touches the springs of moral character more than it used in my own young days." Through the Bishop's activity a grant of £5,000 was obtained for Anglo-Indian education from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and to this grant, in no small degree, are owing the excellent diocesan schools at Naini Tal and the Pratt Memorial School at Calcutta. We need not refer to his exertions last year in the same cause, to the special fund raised,

with the cordial support of the late Viceroy, for the purpose of bringing a good education within reach of the very poorest, or to the munificent liberality with which he aided all the educational projects in his diocese. How many children were supported at his own cost at these various schools will never be fully known. Nor is it necessary to add that his sympathies were not limited by race. An excellent Bengali school for high-caste native girls at Bhowanipore was almost entirely dependent on the Bishop; and we rejoice to hear that many of his native friends are trying to perpetuate his memory by placing this school on a permanent basis.

But, after all, it is the man, rather than the measures, that has made that distinct mark on the country of which we are all conscious. A rugged exterior and an occasional bluntness of manner, could not conceal the breadth and tenderness of the heart within. When death removes a great man from our midst, we lose sight of any little peculiarities and think only of the grand features of the character. India can ill afford to lose such self-sacrifice, devotion, learning, power of sympathy, as have been long associated with the name of the Bishop of Calcutta. We ourselves have to mourn the loss, not only of a great Bishop, but of a valued contributor to this *Review*.* One who can reckon amongst his personal friends the highest and the lowest in the land, who can draw together men of all classes, all parties, all religions, is such an one as India needs and such an one as India mourns. The time must come when Bishop Milman's episcopate will be reckoned amongst the things of the distant past, and when men may be scarcely conscious of the impetus which he gave to Christian work in the country of his adoption; but while recollections are clear, and while the generation still lives which has known and loved him, we shall do well to gather up the lessons of his life, and by endeavouring to receive the impress of his character, to lay our wreaths of affection upon an already honoured grave.

* Few of our readers will have forgotten two powerful articles that appeared in the *Calcutta Review* rather more than a year ago—one on Mill's *Three Essays*, the other on *Papal Infallibility*. Both were from the pen of the great and good man whose loss we now mourn.—EDITOR.

ART. II.—FRENCH MARINERS ON THE INDIAN SEAS.*

IN the history of the French in India, I have brought the story of the struggle for empire in the East of that gallant and high-spirited people to the year 1761. From that date the land contest really ceased. For although in 1782, France did despatch a considerable force to aid Haidar Ali, the decrepitude of its leaders and the death of Haidar combined to render its efforts fruitless. From 1761, indeed, the French ceased to be principals in the contest. Thenceforth the adventurous sons of her soil were forced to content themselves with the position of auxiliaries to native princes. The foremost amongst them, levying contingents of their own countrymen, took service in the courts which showed the greatest inclination to resist the progress of the increasing power of the English. Thus the younger Lally, Law, Raymond, de Boigne, Perron, Dudrenec, and many others became the main supports upon which Haidar Ali, the Nizam, Sudda, and Holkar rested their hopes for independence, if not for empire. But, after all, although in many cases these adventurers accomplished much in the way of organising resistance to the English, they did not succeed in their own secret views. They failed entirely to resuscitate the dream of successful rivalry to England. One by one they disappeared before the steady advance of the foe they had once hoped to conquer. Sometimes, as at Haidarabad, dismissed on the requisition of an English governor; again, as in 1802, beaten by the English general, they gradually renounced the cause as hopeless, and finally ceased to pursue the struggle. The hopes which had glimmered but very faintly after the death of Haidar, which had again been somewhat rekindled by the prudent measures of Mád'háji Sindia, were dealt a fatal blow by Lord Lake at Aligarh and at Delhi, and were finally crushed by that stalwart soldier on the field of Láswári.

But there was another element upon which the fortunes of France still flourished even after the blow dealt at her in 1761. Strange, indeed, it was, that during the contest which terminated in that year, she had never sent simultaneously to the field

* The principal authorities for this article are :—

(1) Extracts made from the Naval Archives of France; (2) Transactions in India, published in 1786; (3) Dr. Campbell's Naval History of Great Britain; (4) Histoire de la dernière

Guerre, written by a French officer engaged in it; (5) Histoire de la Campagne de l'Inde sous les ordres du Bailli de Suffren, Trublet, (1802); (6) Le Bailli de Suffren dans l'Inde, Roux (1867); (7) Historical Sketches of the South of India, Wilks.

of action a capable general and a capable admiral. It is true that La Bourdonnais combined both qualities in his own person, and the great things he had then been able to effect ought to have served as an example for the times that were to follow. But they did not. La Bourdonnais' stay in the Indian seas was short. He was succeeded by the feeble Dordelin. And subsequently, when the Government of Louis XV. made the greatest effort France had till then made to establish an empire in India; when it sent out a general who had won distinction on the battle fields of Flanders, and soldiers who had helped to gain Fontenoy and Laffeldt, it selected as the colleague of the general an admiral of whom it has been written that "to an unproductive brain he added infirmity of purpose."

Subsequently to the capture of Pondichery in 1761, the position was reversed. When, eighteen years later, Bussy, gouty, infirm, and whom self-indulgence had made halting and undecided, was sent to command the land forces, he had as his naval colleague a man whose name, covered with an eternal ray of glory, still shines as one of the most illustrious, if not the most illustrious, in the naval annals of France. I allude to Pierre André de Suffren.

The Treaty of Paris, signed on the 10th February 1763, had restored Pondichery to France, but it was a Pondichery dismantled, beggared, bereft of all her influence. During the fifteen years which followed this humiliating treaty, Pondichery had been forced to remain a powerless spectator of the aggrandisement of her rival on Indian soil. Even when, in 1778, the war was renewed, the Government of France was but ill prepared to assert a claim for independence, still less for dominion, in Eastern and Southern India.

The natural results followed. Chandernagore fell without a blow (10th July 1778). Pondichery, ably defended for forty days against vastly superior forces by its Governor, Bellecombe, surrendered in the month of September following; the fleet, commanded by M. de Tronjoly,—a feeble copy of Count d'Aché,—abandoned the Indian waters without even attempting to save Mahé. All seemed lost. The advantages gained by the English appeared too great to be overcome; when the marvellous energy of Haidar Ali, the Muhammadan ruler of Mysore, gave a turn to events which upset the most carefully laid calculations, and communicated to his French allies the most brilliant hopes.

On the 4th April 1769 Haidar Ali had dictated peace to the English under the walls of Madras. By one of the articles of this treaty the contracting parties bound themselves to assist each other in defensive wars. But when, during the following year, Haidar was attacked and was hardly pressed by the Marhâtás,

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the English refused their aid. Haidar never forgave this breach of faith.

When, therefore, some nine years later, he saw the English embroiled alike with the French and the Márhátas, Haidar resolved to take his revenge. He first sent to the English an intimation that he should regard an attack on the French settlement of Mahé, contiguous to his own possessions on the western coast, as equivalent to an attack upon himself. The English notwithstanding took Mahé and endeavoured apparently to pacify the ruler of Mysore by sending to him ambassadors charged with presents. These latter were, however, little calculated to produce such an effect. They consisted of a pigskin saddle and a rifle which it was found impossible to load. Haidar returned them with contempt, and prepared for war.

His first efforts in the autumn were eminently successful. Outmanœuvring the English general, Munro, he defeated and took prisoners (9th and 10th September) a detachment of 3,720 men, of whom upwards of 500 were Europeans, under the command of Colonel Baillie, at Perambakam. He then captured Arcot and some minor places.

But the ruler of Mysore had not been unmindful of the French alliance. Early in the year he had intimated to the representatives of that nation in India his determination to strike a decisive blow at their rivals,—a blow which must be fatal, if the French would only sufficiently aid him. But the ministers of Louis XVI. were not alive to the importance of the stake to be played for. In that year, when England was engaged in a life and death struggle with her own children in America, a fleet under Suffren and 3,000 men under a skilled leader such as De Boigne, would have sufficed to clear of her rivals the whole country south of the Vindhya range. But though roused by the exhortations of Haidar, and catching, though dimly, a feeble idea of the possibilities before her, France, instead of sending a fleet and an army to India, contented herself with the despatch of a squadron and a regiment to guard the isles of France and of Bourbon, which the English had not even threatened.

This squadron, commanded by M. Duchemin de Chenneville, found on its arrival at its destination that the French islands were perfectly well protected by the small detachment of vessels commanded by the French admiral on the Indian station, the Chevalier d'Orves. This officer, who had succeeded de Tronjoly, at once assumed the command of the new arrivals. He had then at his disposal six serviceable men-of-war, one frigate, and two corvettes. It was not a large fleet, but it carried with it one of the finest regiments in the French army, a regiment such as, if landed

in India, should have sufficed to render the campaign of 1781 decisive.

A glimmering of the chances thus possibly awaiting him seems to have decided d'Orves to take this small fleet and this regiment to the Coromandel coast. He sailed then from the islands on the 14th October and sighted the coast near Kadalûr on the 17th February following (1781.) Before referring to his subsequent conduct, let us take a glance at the position of affairs on the mainland on that date.

Haidar, having outmanœuvred Munro, beaten Baillie, and captured Arcot, had laid siege to Ambûr, Vellore, Wandewash, Permacól, and Chingleput. The first named of these places surrendered on the 13th January, but on the 18th, Haidar, having received intelligence that the new English general, Sir Eyre Coote, had left Madras the previous day, with the intention of attacking him, raised the siege of the other places, and massed his forces. Haidar at first manœuvred to cut off Sir Eyre Coote from Madras, but Coote careless of this, marched upon Pondichery—the inhabitants of which had shaken off the English yoke, and had begun to arm the natives—re-victualling the fortified places on his route. Haidar turned, and, following, overtook him on the 8th February, cutting him off from the country inland. As they approached Kadalûr, marching in almost parallel lines, Haidar caught a glimpse of the French fleet under d'Orves, guarding the coast, and preventing the possibility of any supplies reaching the English by sea. At last, he thought, he had them. Coote possessed only the ground on which his army marched. He was between the sea guarded by d'Orves, and the grain-producing country shut out from him by Haidar. Sir Eyre Coote has recorded his opinion as to the fatal nature of his position. There seemed but one chance open to him, and that was that Haidar might be tempted to fight him. He tried then every expedient to induce that warrior to quit his lair. But the Asiatic was far too wary. He knew that, barring accidents, his enemy must surrender without firing a shot.

Haidar, meanwhile, had communicated with d'Orves and had begged him to land the regiment he had on board. He had pointed out to him likewise all the advantages of his position, the fact that the last army of the English was at their joint mercy, and that Madras was guarded by but 500 invalids.

Never had France such an opportunity. It was an absolute certainty. There was neither risk nor chance about it. The English fleet under Sir Edward Hughes was on the western coast. D'Orves had but to remain quietly where he was for a few days and the English must be starved into surrender. Sir Eyre Coote saw it; Haidar Ali saw it; every man in the army

saw it; every man in the fleet saw it, excepting one. That man was d'Orves himself. Of all the positions in the world that one which most requires the possession of a daring spirit is the command of a fleet. That Government is guilty of the greatest crime which sends to such a post a man wanting in nerve, deficient in self-reliance. Once before had France committed the same fault by entrusting in 1757, to the feeble d'Aché, the task of supporting Lally. But at least d'Aché fought. His feebler successor, d'Orves, was not required to fight. He was required to ride at anchor in the finest season of the year, a time when storms are unknown in the Indian seas, and see an enemy starve,—and he would not.

D'Orves, described by his own countrymen as a man “indolent and apoplectic,” saved Sir Eyre Coote. In spite of the protestations of Haidar, he sailed for the islands on the 13th February, taking away every man he brought with him, and having accomplished nothing. The English force at once obtained supplies from Madras.*

Haidar, thus left to himself, fought Coote on the 1st July at Chilambram, and, after a desperate contest, was beaten. On the 27th August following, he again engaged Coote at Parambákam, and this time not unequally. Haidar, however, left the field to the enemy. On the 18th February following (1782) Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, after combating for three days, succumbed to the superior numbers of Tippú Sáhib. It was about the period of this last encounter that France appeared once again upon the scene, better though not perfectly represented; for while she entrusted her fleet to the greatest of all her admirals, she committed the charge of her army first to an incapable sailor, only to replace him by a gouty sexagenarian. But to recount the causes which led to this powerful intervention we must for a moment retrace our steps.

* The Viscomte de Souillac, at that time Governor of the Isle of France, has thus recorded his opinion of d'Orves, in a memoir in the Archives of the French Navy: “By this astonishing obstinacy of M. d'Orves, which I reported to the ministry at the time, we lost an opportunity such as will never recur, of becoming absolute masters of the Coromandel coast. This army of Kadalúr (Sir Eyre Coote's) 14,000 strong, of which 3 to 4,000 were English, comprised all the troops the English had in this part of India. Madras could not have held out, and the junction of

our forces with those of Haidar Ali would have enabled us to conquer Tanjore and Masulipatam with all their dependencies.”

An English writer, the author of *Memoirs of the late War in Asia*, published in 1788, and who himself took part in the campaign, writes as follows:—“Had the French admiral left only two frigates to block up the road of Cuddalore, consequences might have happened as fatal to the interests of Great Britain in the East Indies, as flowed in North America from the convention of Saratoga.”

II.

Still unconscious of the fact that the War of Independence in America offered them the rarest opportunity for striking a decisive blow at the English power in India, the French Government were nevertheless alive to the necessity of preserving from attack the Cape of Good Hope, then belonging to their allies, the Dutch, and of maintaining a respectable force in the Indian Seas. Early, then, in 1781, a squadron of five men-of-war* was fitted out, and on the 22nd March sailed from Brest, under the command of the Commandant de Suffren.

This illustrious sailor was born at St. Cannat in Provence on the 13th July 1726, the third son of the Marquis de Suffren de Saint Tropez. Destined for the navy he entered that service in 1743, and in the *Solide*, of 74 guns, joined the French fleet in the Mediterranean. He took part in an engagement with the English fleet under Admiral Matthews. Transferred to the frigate *Pauline*, he again had several opportunities of displaying his courage. The same year, serving on board the *Monarque* he was taken prisoner. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he was released, and proceeding to Malta became one of the Knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. During the Seven Years' War he took part in the siege and capture of Port Mahon (29th July 1756) and was for the second time made prisoner at the combat of Lagos, (1759). Returning to France after a captivity of two years, he was promoted to the command of the *Camellon* of twenty guns, and sent to the Mediterranean to protect the French commerce. Subsequently, in the *Singe*, he so distinguished himself as to be promoted to the grade of commander (*capitaine de frégate*). The seven years which followed offered little occupation to his warlike nature. In 1772 he was promoted to the rank of post captain (*capitaine de vaisseau*); and in 1778, in command of *Le Fantasque*, he joined the squadron under Count d'Estaing, sent to aid the colonists of America. In the campaign which followed he so distinguished himself that he was granted a pension, and marked for future command. A short cruise with two men-of-war in 1780 added to his reputation alike as a daring and skilful sailor and an unsurpassed manager of men. When, therefore, it was decided to send a squadron to the Indian seas, the choice of the minister fell naturally upon one who had shewn himself the most promising captain in the royal navy of France.

* They were :—

Le Héros	... 74 Guns.	Commandant de Suffren.
L' Annibal	... 74 "	Capitaine de Trémigon.
L' Artésien	... 64 "	de Cardailhac.
Le Vengeur	... 64 "	de Forbin.
Le Sphinx	... 64 "	du Chilleau.

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Such had been the services of the man who was now starting with a squadron of five line of battle ships to maintain the honour of his country in the Eastern seas. Setting sail on the 22nd March in company with the fleet destined for the American waters under the Count de Grasse, Suffren separated from that admiral at Madeira, and continued his course towards the Cape of Good Hope. He had under his charge seven transports conveying detachments of the regiment of Pondichery, and overlooking these was a corvette of sixteen guns, *La Fortune*. He had it very much at heart to reach the Cape as quickly as possible, so as to anticipate the arrival there of Commodore Johnstone, who, he had been informed, had sailed for that place from St. Helena with thirty-seven ships of sorts.*

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Commodore Johnstone had sailed from Spithead on the 13th March 1781, with orders to attack the Dutch possessions at the Cape. Arriving at St. Iago, one of the Cape de Verde islands, he deemed it necessary to stop there in order to take in wood, water, and livestock for his voyage. He accordingly put into Porto Praya early in April.

It so happened that one of Suffren's men-of-war, the *Artésien*, had been originally destined for the fleet sailing to the American waters, and her supplies of water had been regulated accordingly. As the French squadron approached the island of St. Iago, the commander of that vessel, M. de Cardailhac, suggested to his chief the advisability of his putting in to the bay of La Praya, in order to complete his supplies. Suffren assented, and ordered Cardailhac to stand in. At the same time, in order to guard against any possible danger, he followed in his track with the rest of the squadron.†

On the morning of the 16th April, favoured by a breeze from the north-east, the *Artésien* had just passed between the islands of Maio and St. Iago, when her captain discovered at anchor at the entrance of the roadstead an English vessel, and almost immediately afterwards there burst upon his view the thirty-seven ships of war and transports which Commodore Johnstone had brought from England. Cardailhac at once signalled to his commandant that enemies were in sight.

* The squadron consisted of one ship of 74 guns, one of 64, three of 50, and three frigates. The remainder were armed transports.

The names were the *Hero*, 74; the *Monmouth*, 64; the *Isis*, *Jupiter*, and *Romney* of 50 each. The three frigates carried each 32 guns, and the transports had 112 guns amongst them.—*Campbell's Naval History*.

† Campbell (Naval History) states that the French had received "by some means or other" information that Johnstone had put into Porto Praya; but his statement is quite unsupported. The same reason which had prompted Johnstone himself to put in, and that reason alone, guided the movements of Suffren.

It was a great opportunity for Suffren. He doubted not that the English were quite unprepared to receive him; that they were dreaming of nothing less than an attack; that the crews would probably be dispersed in search of water and provisions. And this was actually the fact. Of the crews of the English vessels nearly fifteen hundred were out foraging; and Commodore Johnstone himself so little expected an attack that he was at the moment engaged in giving directions for altering the position of some of his ships which had drifted too near to each other.*

Suffren did not forego his chance. Despatching *la Fortune* to collect and guard the transports, he, at half past 10 in the morning, led the way in the *Héros*, and standing in close to the shore, followed by the other ships of his squadron, he made for the largest English vessel, also called the *Hero*, and cast anchor between her and the *Monmouth*.

The concentrated fire of the English squadron was for a few moments directed on the daring invader; but very quickly the *Annibal* came to her aid, and diverted to herself much of the enemy's attention.

The *Artésien*, which was following, was not fortunate. The smoke of the combat caused her captain, Cardailhac, to mistake one of the armed transports for a man-of-war. He was about to board her, when he was shot dead through the heart. La Boixière who replaced him was incompetent. He, too, mistook another transport for a frigate. Whilst engaged in boarding her, the freshening breeze took both his vessel and his prize quite out of the line of fire.

The *Vengeur*, which had followed, went along the line of the enemy, exchanging broadsides, but her captain's order to anchor not having been attended to, she made the tour of the roadstead, and then quitting it, found herself unable to return.

The *Sphinx* owing to the mistake or disobedience of her captain did not anchor. She endeavoured to maintain her position by manœuvring, keeping up at the same time a heavy fire; but she rendered little effectual aid.

Suffren found himself then with two anchored, and one unanchored, and therefore comparatively useless vessel, engaged with the whole English squadron. The odds were tremendous, but he still possessed the advantage always given by a surprise, and he continued, for an hour and a half, to maintain the unequal combat. At last, when the *Annibal* had lost her main and mizen masts, and her captain had been disabled; when the *Héros* had received considerable damage in her rigging, and had lost 88 men killed and wounded; and when all hope of effectual aid from the other three vessels of his squadron had

* Campbell.

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disappeared; he deemed it advisable to discontinue the contest. Signalling therefore to the *Annibal* to follow him, he slowly sailed out of the roadstead, still keeping up a tremendous fire.

The *Annibal* essayed to follow him; but, as she passed between the *Hero* and the *Monmouth*, her remaining mast fell by the board. Fortunately the wind had shifted and was now blowing strongly from the south-west. She managed thus to rejoin, though slowly, her consorts outside.

It was about half, past 12 o'clock in the day when Suffren reunited his squadron outside the harbour and began to repair damages. Three hours later Commodore Johnstone followed him and appeared inclined to attack in his turn. Suffren, however, placing the *Annibal* in the centre of his line, offered so bold a front, that the English commodore, whose ships, especially the *Isis*, had suffered severely, drew off and returned to La Praya.* Suffren then continued his voyage without molestation, and on the 21st June, cast anchor in Table Bay. The convoy arrived nine days later.

Having landed his troops at the Cape; having secured the colony against attack; having completely repaired his damages, and having been joined by two corvettes, the *Consulante* and the *Fine*, Suffren sailed for the islands of France and Bourbon on the 28th August. He cast anchor in Port Louis on the 25th October following. He found there six men-of-war, three frigates, and some corvettes. But at their head was the indolent and incapable d'Orves, the same who, we have seen, had already thrown away the most splendid chance of establishing a French India! It was under this man that Suffren was to serve as second in command!

Meanwhile the French Government had tardily decided to make in 1782 an attempt which could scarcely have failed if hazarded in 1780. It had resolved, to strike another blow, this time in concert with Haidar Ali, for domination in Southern

* Dr. Campbell states that Johnstone "pursued the French, but he was not able to overtake them." The French authorities, on the other hand, assert that their fleet put on so bold a front that Johnstone stayed his advance, although he was within two cannonshot of their fleet. "It was only at night" says Roux, "that the French continued their route, lighting their fires to provoke the enemy to follow them. The English, who had the advantage of the wind, dared not accept the challenge, but returned precipitately to La Praya." It is clear, considering the disabled state of the *Annibal*, and that the English

commodore had the advantage of the wind, that he could have forced an action had he desired to do so.

On his return to the roadstead, Commodore Johnstone recaptured the transport taken by *l'Artésien*.

Much has been said by English writers regarding the fact that the Cape de Verde Islands were neutral ground. It is perfectly true, but in this respect the French only did as they had been done by. The harbour of Lagos, in which the vessel on board of which Suffren served in 1759, had taken refuge, was equally neutral ground, and yet the French had been attacked in it by the English.

India. With this object in view it had roused from his retreat the Marquis de Bussy, the man who in his youth and middle age had gained honour and glory and wealth in that fairy land, but who now gouty, worn out, and querulous, was incapable alike of decision and enterprise.

The designs of the Court of Versailles had been communicated early in the year to M. de Souillac, Governor of the Islands, and it had been intimated that transports containing troops would gradually arrive at his Governorship, and that, concentrating there, they would proceed to India, escorted by a powerful fleet under the command of Count d'Orves. De Souillac, who was enterprising and patriotic, had at once set to work to organise a force with the resources at his command from among the colonists; and at the period of the arrival of Suffren, he had drilled and armed a corps of 2,868 men. Bussy had not then arrived. De Souillac therefore conferred the command of this force upon M. Duchemin.

It was an unfortunate choice. Duchemin was a sailor rather than a soldier. But he was strong neither on the sea nor on the land. He was as weak mentally as physically. A terrible fear of responsibility acted upon a constitution unable to bear the smallest fatigue. A man of moderate abilities would have sufficed for the occasion. The abilities of Duchemin were not even moderate.

These 2,868 men, well commanded, and escorted to a given point by Suffren, would have sufficed to give the preponderance to Haidar Ali in his struggle with the English. But moments were precious. The war with the American colonists still indeed continued, but many things presaged that its duration would not be long. It was necessary, then, that the French should strike at once, and should strike with vigour and precision.

Of this necessity no one was more convinced than the Governor of the islands, de Souillac. He hastened his preparations, so that on the 7th December 1781, the French fleet, consisting of eleven men-of-war, three frigates, three corvettes, one fireship, and nine transports containing troops, was able to set out for its destination.

What was its destination? Suffren, with a precision natural to him, had advised that it should sail direct for Madras, and attempt to take that town by a *coup-de-main*. But the cautious and feeble d'Orves had overruled him. He would only proceed by degrees. He would feel his way. It was too much for him even to take a straight look at India. He therefore directed the fleet upon Trincomali.

But Providence had one good turn in store for the French.

* Bussy was then only 64 years old; had quite impaired his faculties, but twenty years of sloth and luxury

Happily for the success of the expedition d'Orves died on the way, (9th February 1782). He made over the command to Suffren who had just received the rank of commodore (*chef d'escadre*). Suffren at once altered the course to Madras.

Before this event had happened, Suffren himself in his ship, the *Héros*, had pursued and captured an English man-of-war of fifty guns, called the *Hannibal*. She was at once added to the French fleet under the title of *Le petit Annibal*. From the officers of this vessel Suffren learned, for the first time, that large reinforcements were on their way to the English squadron in the East.

Passing Pondichery, Suffren despatched to that town, in a corvette, Lieutenant-Colonel Canaple, with instructions to communicate at once to Haider Ali the intelligence of his arrival and his hopes. On the 15th February, just three days before Colonel Braithwaite's detachment had succumbed to Tippú Sáhib, his fleet came in sight of Madras.* Anchored in front of Fort St. George and protected by its guns he descried eleven† ships of war,—the squadron of Sir Edward Hughes. Suffren formed his ships in line of battle till he arrived within two cannonshots of the English fleet. He then anchored and summoned all his captains on board the *Héros* to a council of war.

It must always be remembered that the fleet of M. de Suffren was escorting transports conveying a *corps d'armée*, and that it was a main object with him to land his troops, and disembarass himself of his transports before attempting an equal combat with the enemy. The proposal then of the captain of the *Fine*, M. Perrier de Salvart, to attack Sir Edward Hughes, lying as he was under the cover of the guns of Madras, appeared to him too hazardous. He determined therefore to direct the transports on towards Porto Novo, covering their course with his fleet.

In pursuance of this decision the fleet commenced its southward course that same evening. But as the breeze freshened Suffren observed the English vessels hoist their sails and follow him. Rightly conceiving that their object was to cut off his transports, Suffren gave the order that these should range themselves between the shore and his fleet, covered by the corvette the *Pourvoyeuse*, and make all sail for Porto Novo, whilst the *Fine* should watch the enemy's movements.

In spite of these precautions, however, Sir Edward Hughes, favoured by the darkness of the night, glided unperceived between

* The currents and a southerly breeze had taken his squadron considerably to the north of Madras. Coming again under the influence of the N.-E. Monsoon he approached

Madras from the north.

† Dr. Campbell mentions only nine. The other two were probably frigates.

the French squadron and the transports. These latter crowded sail to escape, and when day broke, they and their pursuers had sailed almost out of sight of Suffren's squadron: suddenly, however, the look-out man on board the *Fine* signalled the enemy to the south. Immediately every sail was set, and the *Héros* followed by the rest of the squadron soon approached the pursuers and pursued. Sir Edward, thus balked of this prey,* hove to, and ordered the chase to be discontinued.

In the battle now about to engage, the French had the advantage of two ships, having eleven against nine of the English. Yet this advantage, great as it was, was balanced, partly by the superior organisation of the English, partly also by the jealousy and dislike entertained towards Suffren by the officers of the ships which had joined him at the islands. The jealousy, so often evinced in the time of Dupleix, which could not subordinate personal feelings to duty, manifested itself in the manner now to be described in the course of the action.

The French fleet was formed into two divisions; the first was composed as follows:—

<i>Le Héros</i>	74	guns, carrying the Commodore's broad pennant.
<i>L' Orient</i>	74	" one of the ships brought from Port Louis.
<i>Le Sphinx</i>	64	" brought by Suffren from Brest.
<i>Le Vengeur</i>	64	" ditto.
<i>Le petit Annibal</i>	50	" captured from the English.

The second division, commanded by the captain of the *Annibal*, de Tromelin, consisted of:

<i>L' Annibal</i>	74	guns, brought by Suffren from Brest.
<i>Le Sévère</i>	64	" from Port Louis.
<i>L' Artésien</i>	64	" by Suffren from Brest.
<i>L' Ajax</i>	64	" from Port Louis.
<i>Le Brillant</i>	64	" ditto.
<i>Le Flamand</i>	54	" ditto.

The armament amounted to 710 guns.

The English fleet was thus composed:—

<i>The Superb</i>	74	guns, Flagship.	<i>The Monmouth</i>	64	guns.
<i>The Hero</i>	74	"	<i>The Worcester</i>	64	"
<i>The Monarch</i>	74	"	<i>The Barford</i>	64	"
<i>The Exeter</i>	64	"	<i>The Isis</i>	54	"
<i>The Eagle</i>	64	"	or a total armament of 596 guns.		

It was half-past three o'clock in the afternoon before the wind, which was light and variable, allowed Suffren to approach his enemy. Seeing even then that some of his captains did not take the post assigned to them, he signalled to them to

* Dr. Campbell says vaguely that the troops were disembarked subsequently at Porto Novo, but he French accounts show that all

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take the place in the line which each could reach the most quickly.

Rapidly advancing then, he exchanged a broadside with the *Exeter*, but noticing the flag of the English admiral, he directed the *Héros* towards the vessel that bore it, at the same time signalling to the second division to close within pistol-shot of the enemy.

The combat lasted from half past 3 to 7 o'clock in the evening. But it was not till quite the close of the action that all the French ships came into the line of fire. The entire first division consisting of five ships was engaged throughout; but of the second the *Flamand* and the *Brillant* alone came to close quarters, the remaining four, disobeying the direct orders of the commodore, keeping up only a distant fire.

On the part of the English the brunt of the attack was borne by the *Exeter* and the *Superb*. The former, fought splendidly by Captain King, was terribly riddled. Her loss in killed and wounded was very great. The *Superb*, too, suffered severely.

At 7 o'clock the combat ceased as if by mutual consent. Darkness had come on, and Suffren was too ill-satisfied with the conduct of five of his captains to allow him to risk a continuance of the contest. Sir Edward Hughes on his side was well content that it should cease. He was expecting reinforcements from England and by bearing down to the south he was likely to meet these. An opportunity would then offer to renew the battle on more advantageous terms. Taking advantage then of the quiescent attitude of the enemy he made all sail to the south.

It is probable that on this occasion, for the first and only time in his life, Suffren missed a great opportunity. He had, on the whole, had the advantage in the action. He had reduced one of the enemy's ships to an almost sinking condition,* and their losses had been heavier than his own. He knew that the English were expecting reinforcements. Why then did he not promptly pursue them? He did not do so because he could not trust all his captains.

The following morning Suffren summoned his captains on board the *Héros*. Those inculpated promised better conduct for the future. The squadron then quietly pursued its course to Porto Novo. Here he disembarked his troops, negotiated the terms of an alliance with Haidar Ali, and on the 23rd, having re-victualled his ships and been joined by one man-of-war and three frigates

* "At the close of the action when she (the *Exeter*) had been most dreadfully cut up, two fresh vessels of the enemy's squadron bore down upon her. The Master asked Commodore King what he should do with her under the circumstances. His reply was "there is nothing to be done but to fight till she sinks." Just at this moment the two French ships were recalled. *Campbell*.

he sailed for the south, protecting some transports he was despatching to the islands, and hoping to meet again his English rival.

On the 8th April his wishes in this respect were fulfilled. With his twelve line of battle ships he sighted, on the morning of that day, the eleven ships composing the squadron of Sir Edward Hughes* standing for Trincomali. For three days they continued in sight, Suffren finding it impossible to force an action. But on the morning of the 12th, Hughes, changing his course to gain Trincomali, unavoidably gave the Frenchman the advantage of the wind. Of this advantage Suffren made prompt use.

The action began about half past 12 o'clock. Seven of the French ships were immediately engaged. But two, the *Vengeur* and the *Artésien*, notwithstanding the repeated signals of the commodore, kept at a distance, and their example was for some time followed by the *Sévère*, the *Ajax* and the *Annibal*. At last these three came up, and the action became general.

In the early part of the day fortune seemed to incline to the French. The *Monmouth* was dismasted and compelled to quit the line, having had 45 men killed and 102 wounded. The *Superb* was greatly damaged. The English admiral then gave orders to the squadron to wear. By this manœuvre the position of the rival fleets was reversed. Still, however, the battle continued; when suddenly at 6 o'clock a tremendous storm burst upon both fleets, enveloping them in darkness, and forcing them close to a lee shore, to pay attention to their own safety. Suffren at once signalled to anchor.

In this battle the English lost 137 killed and 430 wounded; the French 130 killed and 364 wounded. The *Héros*, the *Orient* and the *Brillant* had suffered severely. Nevertheless the next morning Suffren offered battle to Sir Edward, but the English admiral, having a large convoy under his charge, declined it. Suffren then sailed southward, whilst the English squadron entered the harbour of Trincomali. As to the captains of the *Vengeur* and the *Artésien*, Captains de Forbin and de Manville, Suffren reported their conduct to the Minister of Marine. Subsequently, it will be seen, he deprived them of their commands and sent them to France, where, on arrival, they were imprisoned.

A little more than a fortnight after this battle, Suffren brought his squadron into the anchorage of Batacoloa, a Dutch port in the island of Ceylon, about twenty leagues to the south of Trincomali, to which place the English squadron had repaired. By taking up this position Suffren gained all the advantage of the wind which was just beginning to set in from the south. He had previously

* The French ships carried 972 guns; those of the English 737.

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despatched a brig, the *Chasseur*, to the islands to demand of M. de Souillac men and munitions of war, of which latter there did not remain to him a sufficient quantity for a single action.

Here, at Batacoloa, Suffren received despatches from France directing him to proceed to the islands to escort Bussy to the Indian coast.* But there were grave reasons which urged Suffren to defer obedience to these instructions. In the first place he could not place confidence in many of his captains. The senior next to himself, Captain de Tromelin, was a man whom he had reason specially to mistrust. To leave to such a man the charge of a squadron wanting in men and ammunition, at a time when an English squadron of almost equal force was ready to dispute with it the mastery of the Indian Seas, and when nearly 3,000 French troops, but just landed, required the support of French ships, was a course which prudence and patriotism alike spurned. Suffren preferred then to take upon himself the responsibility of not obeying the minister's order. He justified this line of action in a letter to the Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon.

Fortunately for France the Governor of the islands was a man endowed with a cool judgment, a clear understanding, and large and comprehensive views. He in his turn justified the action of Suffren to the Minister of Marine. After detailing the various reasons which would render the absence of Suffren from the scene of action not only inexpedient but dangerous to French interests, he thus concluded: "It may truly be affirmed that the course M. de Suffren has taken will save India and pave the way for the success of the Marquis de Bussy."

The French fleet remained in the anchorage of Batacoloa till the 1st June. It was a trying time for Suffren. His greatest enemies were the recalcitrant captains who were sighing for the luxurious diet, the graceful forms, and the smiling faces of the Isle of France. These offered a covert resistance to all the plans of their Commadore. But Suffren saw through their motives, and, being a plain speaker, he told them bluntly that he would rather sink the squadron before the forts of Madras than retire before Admiral Hughes. "If there are any," he added, "who have formed the conception of such an infamy let them give me their reasons and I shall know how to answer them." It was in putting down the intrigues formed by these men, in repairing and re-victualling his ships, in tending on the shore the sick and wounded, and finally in welcoming reinforcements of men and munitions, that the six weeks at Batacoloa were spent.

* These despatches were brought to Suffren by Villaret-Joyeuse, subsequently distinguished as the admiral who, with a revolutionary fleet, fought the battle of the 1st June against Lord Howe.

Meanwhile the troops under the feeble Duchemin, disembarked at Porto Novo on the 20th April, had begun their operations. It had been arranged between the French Commodore and Haidar Ali that 6,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry of the Mysore army should join the French force, and that these united should, under the command of the French general, act in concert with Haidar Ali, the latter furnishing supplies both in money and kind. These arrangements were quickly carried out. Haidar had wished that the French *corps d'armée* should at once attack Negapatam, a most important town on the coast, and the capture of which could then have been easily effected. Duchemin, however, preferred the easier conquest of Kadalûr. This place surrendered on the 6th May. A junction was then effected with Haidar Ali, and the united armies besieged and took Permacól, and a few days later invested Wandewash.

Then occurred another instance of the crime of intrusting important military operations to a man without brains and without nerve. Probably in private life Duchemin was amiable and inoffensive. He was certainly not tormented by a constant desire to dare. These somewhat negative qualities ought to have engendered a doubt as to the possession of the sterner faculties which fit a man for command. It has indeed been conjectured that he might have owed his selection to there not being a better man on the spot. Yet, judging by results, such a surmise must be a libel on all and every one of the 2,868 men he led to India.

Just imagine his position. The English had but one army in Southern India. That army consisted of about 12,000 men, of whom little more than 2,000 were Europeans. It was commanded by Sir Eyre Coote, a man who had been very good in his day, but who was then utterly broken down in health. That army defeated, Southern India would become Mysorean and French.

On the other side was the army of Haidar Ali, 60,000 strong, flushed with victory over Braithwaite, and but just joined by about 2,000* Frenchmen under Duchemin. For this army a defeat was comparatively unimportant; for the English had not the men to follow up the victory, and Haidar had another army to fall back upon. It was just the occasion when it was the policy of the English to avoid a decisive action, of the allies to force us on.

Yet, it is scarcely credible that, whilst the English general so far layed into his enemy's hands as to offer battle to them, the French commander declined it. If success justifies the neglect of all rule, then, and then alone, was Coote warranted in offering battle. Defeat would have ruined him. Yet his part, at least, was a noble and a daring part. But what can justify Duchemin?

* Deducting the sick in hospital.

Look again at the position. Haidar Ali and Duchemin with an army of over 60,000 men were besieging Wandewash: Sir Eyre Coote thought that Wandewash must be saved at any price. He therefore advanced with his army, 12,000 strong, and offered battle to the allies. His position was of no great strength. He had no advantages. He was over-matched in cavalry, in infantry, and in artillery. Haidar, old as he was, was eager to accept the challenge. Duchemin refused.

Why did he refuse? The fate of French India was in his hands. He had but to tell his countrymen to fight, as Frenchmen will fight, and, in all probability, Wandewash would have been the grave of the English. Why then did he refuse? It was an opportunity at which Suffren would have clutched, which the least of the generals of Napoleon would have made decisive. Unhappily for France, Duchemin was less than the least of her warrior children.

In reply to the urgent requisition of Haidar, Duchemin pleaded his health; he pleaded his instructions not to fight before the arrival of Bussy; he pleaded, not in words but in a manner not to be misunderstood, his own innate incapacity.

Haidar Ali saw it—saw it with disdain. In compliance with the urgent solicitations of the Frenchman, he abstained from attacking Coote; and raising the siege of Wandewash retreated towards Pondichery and occupied a strongly fortified position close to Kalinúr. But the loss of the opportunity chafed him. Such allies were useless to him. He determined to show them he could fight the English without them.

The occasion soon presented itself. Sir Eyre Coote, foiled in his endeavours to force on a battle before Wandewash, determined to make an attempt on the magazines of Haidar at Arni. There were all his stores; there his supplies of ammunition and weapons of war. To surprise that place would in very deed give a deadly wound to his enemy. Coote resolved to attempt it. His chances seemed good, for he had gained over the commandant of Arni.

Coote set his army in motion for that purpose on the night of the 30th May. But Haidar had had good information and had penetrated his plan. Whilst then he sent by forced marches Tippú and his own French contingent under the younger Lally to protect Arni, he broke up from his camping ground at Kalinúr, and marched on the track of Coote, hoping to take him in rear. He did not even ask the opinion of Duchemin, but left him and his *corps d'armée* behind.*

* To mark his sense of Duchemin's of provisions to the French army conduct Haidar suspended the supply during his own absence.

Haidar Ali overtook the English force on the 2nd June just as they were in sight of Arni. The English leader was surprised. He had Tippú and Lally in front of him, and Haidar Ali in his rear. His troops were tired. Haidar had never had such a chance. But the skill of Coote and the valour of the English baffled him. By dexterous manœuvring Coote made it a day of skirmishing, in the course of which he captured one of Lally's guns stuck fast in the bed of the river. In his main object, however, Coote was baffled. Haidar saved Arni. Four days later Haidar took his revenge for the loss of his gun by tempting the English into an ambuscade. They fell into the snare, and lost 166 men, 54 horses, and two guns. Haidar's loss was about 80 men. After this action Sir Eyre Coote returned to the vicinity of Madras. Haidar, unable to conquer the repugnance of Duchemin to action, proceeded to push on the siege of Vellgre.

III

It was whilst the events just recorded were progressing on land that intelligence from time to time reached Haidar Ali of the gallant contests which Suffren had been delivering on the sea. The enthusiasm of the tried and gallant old warrior knew no bounds. "At last," he said to his confidants, "at last the English have found a master. This is the man who will aid me to exterminate them: I am determined that two years hence not one of them shall remain in India, and that they shall not possess a single inch of Indian soil." Then turning to the French agent in his camp, M. Piveron de Morlat, he begged him to write at once to his master, and to tell him of his own great desire to see him, to embrace him, to tell him how much he esteemed him for his heroic courage.

Before this message could reach the French commodore, he had sailed with his refitted and augmented squadron in the direction of Kadalúr. It had been his original intention to do the work which Duchemin had declined to attempt, *viz.*, to take possession of Negapatam, which would have formed an important dépôt for the operations of the land and sea forces. But the course of events induced him to change his determination.

The French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and four large frigates, sailed first to Tranquebar, and then, making several captures *en route*, arrived, on the 20th June, at Kadalúr. Here for the first time Suffren became acquainted with the misconduct of Duchemin. Resolved, by some daring measure, to atone for the shortcomings of this incapable soldier, Suffren embarked on board his transports, besides siege materials, 1,200 men of the

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line, 400 of the levies of the islands, two companies of artillery, and 800 sepoys, intending to make a dash at Negapatam. He was on the point of sailing when intelligence reached him that the English fleet, emerging from Trincomali, had passed Kadalúr, and was bearing up northward, in the direction of the place which he had hoped to surprise.

Disappointed, but still determined, Suffren at once set sail in pursuit of the enemy. Coming in sight, on the 5th July, of Negapatam, he beheld the English fleet lying at anchor in the roadstead. Determined at all hazards to force on an action, Suffren signalled to clear decks and to be ready to anchor. His own ship the *Héros*, was leading, when at 3 o'clock, a sudden squall caused to the *Ajax*, which was following, the loss of her main and mizen topmasts. These, and other damages, almost as serious, forced her to drop out of the line. The squall settling into a steady breeze gave the English admiral the advantage of the wind. He accordingly weighed anchor and stood out to sea. That night the two fleets anchored within two cannonshots of each other.

When the morning of the 6th July broke, the first care of the French commodore was to ascertain the condition of the *Ajax*. His rage may be imagined when he found that the necessary repairs remained uncompleted. The rage was increased to fury when he received from her captain a request that his vessel might be allowed to stand in for the nearest roadstead, and this in the presence of an enemy and when an engagement was impending! He refused absolutely.

Meanwhile the English admiral finding the enemy of about equal strength with himself, * determined to use his advantage of the wind and to force on an engagement. At 10 minutes past 7, then, he formed line ahead, and signalled to his captains that each ship should bear down as directly as possible upon her opponent and endeavour to bring her to close action. Suffren on his side tacked, putting the head to the wind, in order to form a new line. As he did this, he had the mortification to see the captain of the *Ajax* stand right away from him.

It was not till about half past 9 o'clock that the English ships came within range of their enemy. Both fleets opened fire simultaneously at long distances. Soon, however, the fight closed. The *Flamand*, 50; drew on herself the fire, which she returned, of the *Hero*, 74, and the *Exeter*, 64; whilst the *Annibal*, 74, engaged in a murderous conflict with the *Isis* 56. Simultaneously the *Sévère*, 64, and the *Barford*, 74; the *Brillant*, 64, and the

* The French fleet consisted, besides the *Ajax* which took no part in the battle, of eleven ships of the line, carrying 706 guns, and of four frigates. The English had eleven line of battle ships, carrying 746 guns, and one frigate.

Sultan, 74; the French commodore's ship, the *Héros*, 74, and the English admiral's ship, the *Superb*, 74; engaged in an almost hand-to-hand encounter.

Of the other vessels it may be noted that the *Sphinx*, 64, fought the *Monarca*, 74; but the position of this latter, on the star-board quarter of the *Superb*, rendered it impossible for her to deliver any but an oblique fire. The *Worcester*, the *Monmouth*, the *Eagle*, and the *Magnamine*, which followed in her wake, could only form a line at an angle of forty-five with the French line. It followed that the fire between these and the *Petit Annibal*, the *Artésien*, and the *Vengeur* was at a long distance, whilst the *Bizarre* and the *Orient*, notwithstanding the efforts of their captains, remained in forced inaction. The *Flamand* was the first French ship to feel the weight of her two powerful antagonists. She managed, however, to forge ahead and clear herself, and they were in too crippled a condition to follow her. The *Brillant* at the same time was suffering much from the well-directed fire of the *Sultan*, when Suffren, signalling to the *Sphinx* to replace him alongside the *Superb*, came to her rescue. The fight was then renewed with extraordinary vigour; when at 1 o'clock the wind suddenly changed, and threw both the combating parties into disorder.

This change of wind, according to the English writers, saved the French fleet from certain defeat. The French on their side, whilst admitting the shameful conduct of some of their captains, contend that the battle was still uncertain, and that they were combating with equal chances when the wind came to part them. The state of affairs after the change of wind had operated, as related by one of the English writers of the period, a decided partisan, shows, I think, that there could have been little to choose between the condition of the rivals. "After much manœuvring," he writes, "and the continuation of a partial engagement between such of the two fleets as came within reach of each other, the English admiral made the signal for the line of battle ahead, and was preparing, at half-past one o'clock, to renew the attack; but seeing at two, the enemy standing in shore, and collecting their ships in a close body, while his were much dispersed, and several of them ungovernable, he relinquished that design, and thought only of getting into such a condition as should prove decisive to the service next morning. Then, however, the French were observed under sail, on their way to Cuddalore, while our fleet was utterly incapable of preventing or pursuing them."* If this does not imply that the English ships had been at least as much damaged as their

* *Transactions in India*. London: was obstinate, well fought, but in 1786. Campbell says: "The action decisive."

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enemies in the previous encounter there is no meaning in language.

The French statement corroborates substantially the account from which I have just quoted. "Sir Edward Hughes," it relates, "abandoning to us the field of battle, endeavoured to concentrate his ships between Negapatam and Naoúr, whilst Suffren, lying to, and seeing the English squadron disappear, gave orders to anchor off Karikál, two leagues to windward of it."

Suffren himself attributed the indecisive nature of the action to the conduct of his captains. He accordingly placed under arrest and sent to France the following three of their number, viz., M. de Maurville of the *Artésien*, for having on the 6th July aggravated the faults he had committed on the 17th February, the 12th April, and the 5th June; M. de Forbin, for having on this occasion rivalled his misconduct on the 12th April; and M. de Cillart for having unbecomingly hauled down his flag.* M. Bouvet, who had not brought the *Ajæ* into action at all, was deprived of his command, whilst three other inferior officers were sternly reprimanded. Having rid himself of these worse than incapable captains, Suffren anchored in the roadstead of Kadalúr and devoted all his efforts to repair the damages his ships had sustained in the action.

Yet, whilst actively engaged in this prosaic work, his brain, never idle, had conceived one of the most daring projects which ever entered into the head of a naval commander. Long had he noticed with envy the possession by the English of the only harbour on the east coast of Ceylon, capable of containing a large fleet, at the same time that it was strong enough to defy any hostile attack. He lay before Kadalúr in an open roadstead, liable to the storms of the ocean and the attacks of a superior force of the enemy. In this open roadstead he had to carry out all his repairs. The English admiral, he knew well, was about to be joined by the *Sceptre* of 64 guns and the *San Carlos* of 44. Were he to be attacked by the force thus increased to a very decided superiority, how could he effectually resist? Considerations of this nature pointed to the advisability of securing a harbour at once large, commodious, and safe. These advantages were possessed by Trincomali. Suffren then resolved to capture Trincomali.

It was a bold, almost an audacious venture. After the combat

* This occurrence is thus stated by the French authorities: "In one of the isolated encounters *le Sévère* was sustaining a fierce combat with the *Sultan*. All at once, in spite of the proximity of *l'Annibal*, *le Sphinx*, and *l'Héros*, du Cillart ordered his men to haul down his

flag. Fortunately his cowardice, which betrayed itself by unmistakable signs, remained without result. Two officers rushed to him, and apostrophising him severely, rehoisted the flag and continued the combat."—*Roux*.

of the 6th July the English admiral had kept the sea for nearly a fortnight to the windward of Negapatam. With his ships much battered and urgently needing repair it is not easy to imagine why Sir Edward Hughes wasted that precious fortnight in idle bravado. This at least is certain, that it gave Suffren the opportunity he was longing for.*

The state of his vessels and the necessity for procuring ammunition rendered it impossible for Sir Edward Hughes to keep the sea for more than a fortnight. He steered then for Madras and reached that place on the 20th July. He at once took the necessary measures for the repairs of his fleet. Here also he was joined by the *Sceptre* and the *San Carlos*. Sir Edward Hughes thought, and he seemed to have reason for his opinion, that he had sufficient time before him. He knew to a great extent, though not to the fullest extent, the difficulties his rival had to encounter at Kadalûr. Had he known the whole truth, he would have felt still more confident, for, on the 30th July, ten days subsequently to his own arrival at Madras, the state of the French ships of war was so miserable, and the resources at the disposal of Suffren were so wanting, that action for the remainder of the year seemed for them impossible.

On that date Suffren thus wrote to the Governor of the Isle of France, M. de Souillac : "I assure you it is no easy matter to keep the sea on a coast, without money, without magazines, with a squadron in many respects badly furnished, and after having sustained three combats. * * I am at the end of my resources. Nevertheless we must fight to gain Ceylon; the enemy have the wind of us and we have so many slow sailers that there is little hope we shall gain that advantage. * * The squadron has 2,000 men in hospital of whom 600 are wounded."

Even before thus writing, Suffren had broken up his prizes and transports, and had demolished houses and other buildings in Kadalûr to provide himself with the means of repairing his damaged ships!

Whilst thus engaged in these important duties, intelligence reached Suffren (25th July) that the great sovereign of Mysore had arrived within a few miles of Kadalûr in the hope of seeing him and of concerting plans for the future. The French commodore at once despatched an officer of rank to congratulate Haidar Ali, and the next day he landed himself in state, to pay him a visit of ceremony.

* The only English writer who attempts to justify the English admiral's delay before Negapatam, the author of *Transactions in India*, says that the situation of the army may have rendered this inaction necessary. But there are no grounds for this supposition. The English army was then likewise in a state of complete inaction.

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His reception was magnificent. Met on landing by the principal nobles of Mysore, escorted by Haidar Ali's own bodyguard of European cavalry, he was greeted on the threshold of the state tent by that prince himself. The appearance of Haidar Ali was a signal for a general presentation of arms* on the part of the troops drawn up in battle array. The drums beat, the trumpets sounded, the attendants sang hymns recording the prowess of the French. Not a single mark of respect or of honour was omitted.

The interview lasted three hours. Towards the close of it Suffren suggested to Haidar that he should come down to the sea shore to look at the French fleet dressed out in his honour. But Haidar, who was suffering, and who did not care to undergo the exertion that would be necessary, replied that he "had left his camp for one object only, that of seeing so great a man, and that now that he had seen him there was nothing remaining that he "cared to see."

The two following days were spent in giving and receiving presents, and in arranging as to the operations which should take place on the arrival of Bussy; just as they were engaged in discussing this question, intelligence was received of the arrival at Point de Galle of the advanced guard of Bussy's fleet under M. d'Aymar.

Bussy, in fact, had set out from Cadiz in December 1781 with two men-of-war, three transports, and a large convoy. His misfortunes set in early. The convoy was attacked, dispersed, and in part destroyed by English cruisers, so much so that only two ships laden with artillery joined him at the Cape.* He still, however, had the soldiers who had embarked on his three transports. Terrified, however, at a report that the English were about to attack the Cape with an army of 6,000 men, he left there 650 of his small detachment. Sailing then to the islands, the perusal of the despatches just arrived from Suffren seemed to give him new courage. In concert, then, with the Governor, M. de Souillac, he detached under M. d'Aymar, two men of war, the *St. Michel*, 64, and the *Illustre*, 74, one frigate, the *Consolante*, and nine store-ships, carrying 800 men and laden with supplies and ammunition, to proceed at once to join Suffren, and to announce that he himself would shortly follow with the bulk of his troops.

It was of the arrival of this squadron at Galle that Suffren received information at Kadalûr on the 28th July, whilst still discussing affairs with Haidar Ali.

He lost no time in delay. Some preparations were still necessary. But these were soon completed, and on the morning of the 1st August, the French fleet leaving the roadstead in which it had patched up its repairs, fired a parting salute

* Many subsequently made their way to the islands.

to the great warrior her commodore was never destined again to behold.

Suffren had two objects in view, the one avowed, the other concealed: the first to effect a junction with d'Aymar; the second to capture Trincomali: the first appeared certain; the second could only be accomplished by 'great daring.'

Passing Karikal, Naoúr, and Negapatam, the fleet arrived at Batacoloa, twenty leagues south of Trincomali, on the 9th August. Here it was joined by the *Bellona*, a frigate of 36 guns, just returning from an indecisive hand-to-hand encounter with the *Coventry*, 32. Her captain, M. de Pierrevert, a nephew of Suffren, had been killed in the action.

Suffren waited at Batacoloa till the 21st August, when he was joined by the *St. Michel* and the *Illustre*, escorting seven transports with troops and stores, and accompanied by the corvette *La Fortune*. Whilst lying at Batacoloa he had received despatches from France and the islands. Amongst those from the latter was one from Bussy in which that general pointed out how much to be regretted it was that the French possessed no harbour on the eastern coasts equal to Trincomali. It cannot be said that this letter decided Suffren, for his mind had been previously made up; but it is probable that this opinion of a man who had a great reputation on matters connected with India, greatly strengthened his determination to strike for Trincomali.

The reinforcements brought by d'Aymar did not remain long in Batacoloa. One day was spent in distributing to the several ships the munitions and stores of which they were in need. The next day, 22nd August, the entire fleet set sail, and the same evening cast anchor in front of Trincomali. Early on the morning of the 25th, Suffren, having well examined the fortifications, moved his fleet to the east of the forts protecting the town, with the intention to land there his troops, to the number of 2,400. This was effected without opposition the same evening. On the 26th batteries were constructed to play on the eastern face of the fort. On the 27th, 28th, and 29th, fire was opened and continued until, on the evening of the last-named day, a breach had been effected in the fortifications. Early on the morning of the following day Suffren summoned the commandant to surrender. After a long debate, the commanding officer, Captain Macdowel, seeing that further resistance was useless, agreed to give up the place on the condition that he and his troops should be transported to Madras and be free to serve in the war. The French then entered into possession.

Trincomali capitulated on the 31st August. It was occupied by the French on the 1st September. On the 2nd the fleet of Sir Edward Hughes appeared in sight of the place.

IV,

We have seen that Sir Edward Hughes, after delaying for nearly a fortnight before Negapatam, at last took his fleet to Madras to refit. He arrived there on the 20th July, and there he was joined by the *Sceptre* and the *San Carlos*.

The damages which many of his ships had sustained were considerable, and he was forced to make extraordinary exertions to repair them. It had occurred to him that the French commander might take advantage of the state of his vessels, and the gain of a fortnight's time, to make an attempt upon Trincomali. To guard as much as possible against such an attempt, he despatched the *Monmouth* and the *Sceptre* with supplies of men and ammunition to that place.* Thinking this sufficient, his anxiety on the subject ceased. It was soon roused, however, to a greater extent than ever.

I have mentioned that the French frigate *Bellona* fought an indecisive action with the *Coventry* off Butacoloa; but I did not then state that the combating vessels had approached sufficiently near to that place to enable the captain of the latter ship to see the whole French fleet at anchor. He at once crowded on sail to carry the news quickly to Madras. He reached Madras in the middle of August and gave the first intimation to Sir E. Hughes of the dangerous proximity to Trincomali of his enemy. Sir Edward used all the despatch possible to hasten his departure for Ceylon. At length he set out, but, delayed by contrary winds, he arrived before Trincomali only to see the French flag flying on all the forts, and the French fleet at anchor in the bay.

Suffren saw, not unmoved, the English fleet in the offing. It was not necessary for him to go out and fight it, for he had succeeded to the fullest extent of his expectations. He had taken Trincomali. There were not wanting officers in his fleet to urge upon him to run no further risk. The party which, ever since his departure from the islands, had constantly endeavoured to thwart his measures, had been weakened but not annihilated, by the deportation to France of de Cillart, de Maurville, and de Forbin. The head of this party was his second in command, M. de Tromelin captain of the ship *Annibal*. Supported by de St. Felix of the *Artésien*, by de la Landelle of the *Bizarre*, and others, de Tromelin urged upon the commodore the advisability of resting upon his laurels. "The issue of a combat," he said, "was uncertain, and might deprive them of all that they had gained." Such was their ostensible reason; but it cannot be doubted that it was used to cover alike their jealousy of their

* These ships were* despatched by the Negapatam. It is probable that they French fleet on the 3rd of August off did not go further.

chief, and their longing desire to return to the soft beauties of the Isle of France. As for de Tromelin, he had held back in every action, and it was a matter of surprise that he had not been deported with the others after the last engagement.

It is necessary to give this summary of the debates which preceded the action, because they exercised a momentous influence on the action itself.

Before giving a decisive answer to his peace-pleading captains, Suffren determined to ascertain the number of the enemy's vessels. He accordingly signalled to the frigate *Bellona* to reconnoitre. The *Bellona* in a very short space of time signalled back that there were twelve English ships. This decided Suffren. He had fourteen.* Turning to his advisers, he said, 'If the enemy had more ships than I have, I would abstain; if he had an equal number, I could scarcely refrain; but as he has fewer, there is no choice; we must go out and fight him.'

The fact is that Suffren saw, though his captains would not or could not see, that a grand opportunity, possibly the last, now offered to strike a decisive blow for dominion in Southern India. Could he but destroy, or effectually disable, the fleet of Sir Edward Hughes, everything was still possible. Bussy was on the point of arriving; Haidar Ali still lived, threatening the English possessions all round Madras; the attenuated English army, deprived of its fleet, would be unable to keep the field; and there was nothing to prevent the victorious French fleet from sailing with the monsoon wind to Madras, and crushing out the domination of the English in the countries south of the river Krishna. There was the one obstacle offered by the twelve ships of Sir Edward Hughes; and Suffren had fourteen.

That Suffren entertained such hopes is beyond a doubt. Writing to a friend on the 14th, after the battle I am about to describe, and alluding to the excellent conduct of the captain of the *Illustre*, M. de Bruyères de Chalabre, he used this expression: "No one could have borne himself better than he did; if all had done like him, we should have been masters of India for ever."†

But let us now turn to the events of this memorable day. Decided by the signal from the *Bellona* to fight, Suffren, after

* The French fleet consisted of the *Sultan*, 74; the *Superb*, 74; the *Monarca*, 74; the *Exeter*, 64; the *Sceptre*, 64; the *Eagle*, 64; the *Magnanime*, 64; the *Monmouth*, 64; the *Isis*, 56; the *Worcester*, 54; and five frigates and one corvette, carrying in all 976 guns.

† This letter was published in the *Gazette de France* of 31st March 1783.

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a short exhortation to his captains, weighed anchor, and stood out towards the enemy who appeared inclined to entice him gently away from the harbour. As he approached, he signalled to form line in the pre-arranged order. This signal, though repeated again and again, was so badly executed by some of the malcontent captains, that it appeared to the English as if their enemy was about, after all, to decline an engagement. At length, however, their intentions became clear. Their line, though badly formed—the ships being at unequal distances from each other, here crowded, there separated by a long interval—approached till within cannon-shot.

Suffren, dissatisfied with the unequal formation his ships had taken up, signalled then to his captains to reserve their fire till they should be at close quarters with the enemy. He endeavoured to enforce this order by firing a gun. The signal was misunderstood to signify the immediate opening of fire. The fire accordingly opened simultaneously along the whole line of the fleet. The compliment was quickly returned, and in a few minutes the action became general.

Leaving for a moment the van and rear guards of both fleets, we will turn our attention to the centre, in which the rival commanders were opposed to each other. The French centre was composed of the *Héros*, the *Illustre*, the *Sphinx*, the *Flamand*, and the *Petit Annibal*. Of these five the *Sphinx* and the *Petit Annibal* had, by bad seamanship or ill-will on the part of their captains, mixed themselves with the vanguard, the *Flamand* had tacked herself on the rear guard, whilst, on the other hand, the *Ajax*, of the rear guard, had joined the centre. It was then with only three vessels, the *Héros*, the *Illustre*, and the *Ajax*, that Suffren came to close quarters with the English admiral.

Here he found ready to receive him, and arranged with that care for discipline and obedience to orders, which is one of the glories of the English services, the *Burford*, the *Superb*, the *Sultan*, the *Eagle*, the *Hero*, and the *Monarca*. For one hour the unequal combat lasted, fought with admirable courage on both sides; at the end of that period Suffren saw that the odds were too great, and that unless he received prompt assistance he must succumb. He signalled, therefore, to the *St. Michel* commanded by d'Aymar, and to the *Annibal* commanded by de Tromelin, to come to his aid. Neither obeyed. De Kersaison, however, brought up the *Brillant*, though not in a position to offer the most effectual assistance.

Whilst this murderous hand-to-hand conflict was going on in the centre, the two extremities continued pounding at each other at long distances. In this the French had somewhat the advantage. The *Exeter* was disabled, and forced to draw out of the

line; the *Isis* suffered severely, and her captain, Luanley, was killed; the *Worcester*, who lost her captain, Wood, and the *Monmouth*, were riddled. On the French side, the *Consolante*, a 40 gun frigate, which had been brought into action, lost her captain, Péan; the *Vengeur*, having fired away all her ammunition, retired from the action, and caught fire, with difficulty extinguished: the remainder of the squadron continued to fire without order, and at long distances, notwithstanding that the signal for close action was still flying on the commodore's ship.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the fight having lasted then one hour and a half, the situation of the French commodore had become extremely critical. The *Ajax* had been so riddled as to be able to retire only with the greatest difficulty. The *Héros*, the *Illustre*, and the *Brillant* had to bear unsupported the weight of the concentrated fire of the centre division of the English fleet. At 4 o'clock the *Artésien* came to the commodore's rescue; but even then the odds were too great. About 5 o'clock the mainmast, the fore topmast, and the mizen topmast of the *Héros* came down with a tremendous crash. The hurrahs of the English first showed Suffren that they thought he had struck his flag. Not for long did they remain under this delusion. Rushing on the poop, Suffren cried with a voice which sounded above the roar of the combat: "Bring flags; bring up all the white flags that are below and cover my ship with them." These words inspired his men with renewed energy. The contest continued with greater fury than ever. The *Burford*, the *Sultan*, and the *Superb* had already felt, and now felt again its effects. Hope was beginning to rise, when at the moment it was whispered to Suffren that he had already expended 1,800 rounds of shot, and that his ammunition was exhausted!

Powder, however, remained, and with powder alone he continued the fire, so as to delude the enemy. But he had begun to despair: already he was thinking of spiking the guns, and, enticing the enemy's ships close to him, of blowing up his ship and her neighbours with her, when an event occurred which changed the fortunes of the day.

Suddenly, at half-past five, the wind shifted from the south-west to the east-south-east. This enabled the vanguard of the French fleet to come to the aid of, and to cover, its centre. At the same time the English fleet wore. But on resuming position it had no longer the hardly-pressed ships of the French centre to encounter, but those of the vanguard which till then had only engaged at a distance and were comparatively fresh.

The battle then re-engaged. But now it was the turn of the French. The *Hero* lost her mainmast at twenty minutes past six and her mizenmast soon after. The maintopmast of the *Worcester*

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was shot away^c about the same time. The *Superb*, the *Barford*, the *Eagle*, and the *Monmouth* had previously been disabled.

At length night fell, and the engagement ceased—another drawn battle. Both fleets remained all night near the scene of action. The next morning that of the French entered the harbour of Trincomali, the English set sail for Madras. *

Such was the great sea fight off Trincomali. That the majority of the French captains behaved disgracefully was broadly asserted by Suffren, and was admitted by his adversaries. In the English accounts published in India at that period those captains were stigmatised as being 'unworthy to serve so great a man', whilst even in the *Calcutta Gazette* it was admitted that Suffren had been very badly seconded. There can scarcely be a doubt that he was right in saying as he did in the letter I have already referred to, that if all had fought like the captain of the *Illustre* he would have mastered Southern India. As it was, the battle was not without its effect on the campaign.

The Madras Government was so sensible of the damages sustained by the English fleet, and so cognizant of the enterprising spirit of the French commodore, that they ordered their army to fall back on Madras. Had there been at the head of the French land forces a man possessing but the atom of a brain, the dream of Dupleix, of Lally, and of Suffren, might even then have been realised!

The consequences to some of the French captains were serious. On the 13th September de Tromelin of the *Annibal*, de St. Félix of the *Ariésien*, and de la Lândelle of the *Bizarre*, were shipped off to the Isle of France. They were accompanied by de Galles of the *Petit Annibal*, whose health rendered necessary the change.

The French fleet having repaired damages, and having lost one of its vessels (*l'Orient*), which struck on a rock the morning after the action, sailed from Trincomali on the 30th September, and arrived off Kadalûr on the 4th October. Here Suffren had the misfortune to lose the *Bizarre* which, taken too near the shore, ran aground. On the 15th, he set out with the remainder of his ships to winter at Achin. He arrived there on the 7th November.

It is time now to take a glance at the land operations.

*It is very difficult to reconcile the accounts given by the rival actors of the latter part of the action. The English writers assert that the French entered the harbour that very night. Vice-Admiral Bouët-Willaumez and the French authorities of the time assert that Suffren signalled to chase the English, but that they

got away; and that the French entered Trincomali the next morning. Truth would appear to be that both sides were thoroughly exhausted, and were glad to discontinue the battle; that both anchored that night near to where they had fought, and that the French entered the harbour early in the morning.

V.

We left the French auxiliary land force under Duchemin in the strongly fortified position of Kalinúr,—a position in which Haidar Ali had left them in disgust at the conduct of their commander, to go in person with his own troops alone to baffle the designs of Coote on Arni (2nd June 1782). We have seen how he accomplished that task. Shortly after the action which took place before that fortress, and the more trifling skirmishes that followed, the English army retired to the vicinity of Madras.

On his side Haidar Ali cantoned his main army on the high ground near the river Poní, sixteen miles north of Arcot, conducting thence the siege of Vellore. Thence also he despatched his son Tippú, with a considerable force, to counteract the manœuvres of the English on the western coast. The French auxiliary force under Duchemin remained intrenched near Kadalúr in a state of complete inactivity. Here on the 13th September Duchemin, who had been long ailing, died. He was succeeded by Count d'Offelize, the colonel of the regiment of Austrasia, a man respected for his judgment and good sense.

But it was soon seen that active hostilities had by no means ceased. Taking advantage of the absence of Haidar at Kadalúr, whither he had repaired for his interview with the French commodore, Sir Eyre Coote had succeeded by a sudden and rapid march, in introducing a six months' supply of stores and ammunition into the threatened fortress of Vellore. Haidar, who had too late received intelligence of his enemy's movement, hastened to attempt to defeat it, but arrived only in time to witness its successful execution. Haidar then returned to his camp on the river Poní. Coote, waiting until the excitement caused by his recent raid should have subsided, thought it might just be possible to steal a march upon the ruler of Mysore; and, pouncing upon Kadalúr, not only to seize that fortified dépôt, but to destroy at a blow the French auxiliary force. He had every hope that in this attempt he would be supported by the frigate and transports containing stores and a battering train, which had been expedited from Madras for that purpose. He therefore attempted it.

Succeeding in eluding the vigilance of Haidar, Coote found himself, on the 6th September, on the red hills near Pondichery. He commanded thence a complete view of the sea. But to his disappointment not a sail was to be seen. There was but a march between him and the French encampment. Without a battering train, however, the chances of success were slight, and repulse would be fatal, for Haidar would not long delay to act on his communications. As it was, even, his position was full of peril. Still he maintained it for some days, straining his eyes towards the sea. Nor did he cease to hope, until an express

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from Madras informed him that Trincomali had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and that the fleet, badly treated in an encounter before that place, was in full sail for Madras. He at once resigned hope and fell back on the presidency town.

Seldom, it may be safely affirmed, have English interests in Southern India been exposed to greater danger than they were on this occasion. Haidar was encamped in an impregnable position within easy distance of Madras; two thousand of the famed horsemen of Mysore encircled the capital endeavouring to cut off supplies; a large addition to the French land force was momentarily expected; the fleet, by the capture of Trincomali, had been deprived of the only possible place of refuge on the Coromandel coast during the N.-E. monsoon, then about to break: and, added to all, a famine, such as had not been known for years, was devastating the country.* It seemed that it required but one energetic push on the part of the enemy to make the whole edifice of British supremacy topple over.

The damages sustained by the English ships in the action off Trincomali rendered it dangerous for them to wait the first burst of the monsoon in the open roadstead of Madras. Sir Edward Hughes, therefore, immediately after his arrival, announced to the Governor, Lord Macartney, his intention to take his fleet round to Bombay as soon as he should be able to patch up the injured ships. In vain did the Governor remonstrate. Sir Edward Hughes was obdurate, and rightly obdurate. He knew well the force of the monsoon and his inability to brave it. He therefore adhered to his resolution.

His efforts to put his ships in order, to re-victual and re-equip them, were stimulated not less by the close proximity of the monsoon, than by a report which reached Madras that Suffren was about to make an attempt on Negapatam.† With all his efforts, however, Hughes could not sail before the 15th October; but on the 15th October he sailed.

The morning of the 15th had been threatening, showing every indications of a storm. The result did not belie the promise.

* A contemporary, the author of *Transactions in India*, writing three years after the event, thus describes the famine and its consequences: "At this moment a famine raged in Madras and every part of the Carnatic, and, by the tempest now described, all foreign resources that depended on an intercourse by sea were at an end * * *. The roads, the outlets and even the streets (of Madras) were everywhere choked up with heaps of dead and crowds of

the dying. Two hundred at least of the natives perished every day in the streets and the suburbs. * * * All was done which private charity could do; but it was a whole people in beggary; a nation which stretched out its hand for food. * * * For eighteen months did this destruction rage from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore."

† He had been seen off Negapatam on the 1st October.

The following morning the long line of coast off Madras was strewn with wrecks; many vessels foundered, some were driven on shore. Of the small craft containing the rice supplies which had been sent from the more northern ports and roadsteads, not a single one remained.

The ships of Sir Edward Hughes though they escaped absolute destruction met with little short of it. For a whole month no two ships of the fleet could speak with each other. The *Superb*, which carried the admiral's flag, had been at an early date reduced to such a condition that Sir Edward took the first opportunity to shift his flag to the *Sultan*. They were upwards of two months in making the voyage to Bombay. And when the admiral arrived there on the 20th December, he arrived with a shattered fleet and with sickly crews.*

Four days after the departure of Sir Edward Hughes from Madras, Sir Robert Bickerton arrived there with five ships of war and a large number of transports having on board about 4,000 infantry and 340 cavalry. Having landed these he, too, sailed for Bombay.

Meanwhile Suffren had arrived at Achin (7th November). He stayed there till the 15th January, engaged in refitting his ships, in attending to his crews, and in sending cruisers into the Bay of Bengal, where they made some important captures.† Early in January he heard of the death of Haidar Ali (7th December). He determined therefore to return at once to the Coromandel coast to concert fresh measures with Tippu Sultan.

Suffren, sailing on the 15th January, arrived off Kadalur early in February. He was surprised to find there neither tidings of Bussy, nor any news regarding two ships of his fleet, the *Annibal* and the *Bellona*, which he had sent to cruise in the Bay of Bengal. He stayed there but a few days; then, having detached two of his ships, the *St. Michel* and the *Coventry*, towards Madras to intercept an English convoy, he sailed for Trincomali, and arrived there on the 23rd February.

Here he was joined not only by his missing ships, but, on the 10th March, by the squadron which was escorting Bussy, consisting of three line of battle ships, one frigate and thirty-two transports.

* It is a curious circumstance connected with the law of storms, first that Suffren, who left Kadalur the same day as that on which Sir E. Hughes left Madras, experienced only fine weather; he noticed the coming storm and avoided it; that Sir R. Bickerton reached Madras with five sail of the line on the

19th October without experiencing bad weather; that he left it, the very day he had landed his troops, for Bombay, and arrived there some weeks before Sir E. Hughes without experiencing any bad weather in transit.

† Amongst others the *Coventry*, a frigate carrying 32 guns.

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The troops under the command of the Marquis de Bussy, consisting of about 2,300 men,* were escorted to the Coromandel coast and were landed safely at Porto Novo on the 19th March. I propose now to show the state in which the new commander found the affairs of the French and their ally.

The English having concluded peace with the Márhátás had, early in the year, made in communication with them so strong a demonstration on the western coast, that Tippú had been forced to start with the bulk of his army to defend his own dominions. But before this had happened General Stuart had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in command of the English forces at Madras. Reinforced, as we have seen, Stuart moved in February on to Karangúli and Wandewash, the fortifications of which places he destroyed. The Mysorean army under Tippú and the French auxiliaries under d'Offelize were occupying a position at the time within twelve miles of Wandewash, and an action between their army and the English seemed at one time imminent; but Tippú's preparations had not been completed when Stuart offered battle, and when Tippú's plans had matured Stuart had retired. It was immediately after this that Tippú started with the bulk of his army and one French regiment for Mysore, leaving 3,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry at the disposal of d'Offelize.

The English authorities still clung to the plan of wresting, by a combined attack by sea and land, the fortified depôt of Kadalúr from the French. Arrangements having been concerted with Sir Edward Hughes, Stuart set out from the vicinity of Madras on the 21st April, at the head of about 15,000† men. As he advanced towards Wandewash, d'Offelize, whose European force had been reduced to about 600 men, fell back in the direction of Kadalúr.

Bussy, we have seen, arrived at Kadalúr on the 19th March, in plenty of time, by an active initiative, to prevent the investiture of that place. But the Bussy who returned to India in 1773 was no longer the hardy warrior who had electrified Southern India in the years between 1754 and 1760; who had made of the Subadar of the Dekhan a French prefect, and whose capacity to dare had supplied the want of soldiers. If the Bussy of 1756, by his genius, his activity, his daring, his success, foreshadowed in some respects the illustrious warrior who, just forty years later, displayed the same qualities to conquer Italy, the Bussy of 1783, corrupted by wealth, enervated by luxury, and careful only of his

* They consisted of detachments from the regiment of de la Mark, from the regiment d'Aquitaine, from the Royal Roussillon, and of 300 artillery men.

† He set out with about 3,000 Europeans and 11,500 natives, but was joined almost immediately by 600 Europeans just landed.

ease, more resembled that scion of the House of Bourbon, once his sovereign, who consecrated all his hours to his mistresses, who left the nomination of the generals of the armies of France to a de Pompadour, and who banished a Choiseul on the requisition of a Du Barry!

Bussy, then, instead of acting with vigour, did nothing. He did not even show himself to his men. He kept himself—to borrow the language of one of his countrymen—"invisible in his tent like a rich Nabob." Instructed by Colonel d'Offelize of the advance of the English, and informed by that officer that he pledged himself to maintain his force at Permacól, if he were but supported, Bussy not only refused, but abandoned every outlying fortification and fell back within Kadalúr.

The fort of Kadalúr was a quadrangle of unequal sides, extremely weak in many respects, and possessing an indifferent flanking defence. From two to four miles from its western face inland were the hills of Bandapalam. A little estuary formed by the sea covered the eastern and southern faces. It was defended by the whole French force, reduced now by sickness and detachments lent to Tippú to 2,300 Europeans, and by a Mysorean force of 3,000 infantry and 7,000 horse.

The English army arrived before Kadalúr on the 4th June. On the 7th, secure of the support of the fleet, which had arrived at Porto Novo, it made a circuit round the hill and took up a position two miles southward from the fort, its left resting on the hills, its right on the estuary. In making this circuit Stuart so exposed his left to the enemy, that the Major of the regiment of Austrasia, de Bojsseaux, ventured to disturb the "French Nabob" in his tent, to point out the capital crime the English were committing. But Bussy, not with difficulty, restrained himself. He had arrived at a time of life when men no longer attack.

It was only when Stuart had definitely taken up his position to the south that Bussy formed up his force outside Kadalúr, in a line nearly parallel to the enemy, and began to cover it with intrenchments.

On the 13th General Stuart ordered an attack on the right of the French line under the command of Colonel Kelly. The attack, after gaining two positions, was, thanks to the skill and energy of Colonel d'Offelize, repulsed with great loss at the third. The success of the French seemed assured, but they pursued the retiring enemy too far, and General Stuart, noticing his opportunity, came up between them and their intrenchments, and gained a position which would enable him the next day to command the entire French line of defence. Upon this the fight ceased, and Bussy, who for the day had exchanged his tent for a palanquin, withdrew his troops during the night within Kadalúr.

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All this time the sea had been commanded by the English fleet. But on the evening of the day on which the French had had been driven within Kadalûr, a circumstance occurred which brings again upon the scene the illustrious French admiral* at the hour of the direst needs of his country.

We left Suffren on the 19th March landing the army of Bussy at Porto Novo. Coasting then southwards, he arrived on the 11th April, after a slow and difficult journey, within sight of Trincomali. In spite of the presence of the English off the coast he entered the harbour, and at once set to work to refit his fleet. Of his fifteen ships all but five were still under repair, when on the 24th May, the English fleet again passed Trincomali in full sail to the south. Imagining that this demonstration was but a feint to draw him towards Kadalûr so that Trincomali might be captured in his absence, Suffren contented himself with sending some transports escorted by frigates to Kadalûr, and continued his repairs. Again, on the 31st May, the English fleet appeared, bearing northwards, and this time it even made a demonstration to attack the harbour. But it was only a demonstration. At the end of two days Sir Edward Hughes went on to take up at Porto Novo a position which was to support the attack of the land army on Kadalûr. Two days later the French frigates and transports which had been sent to convey stores to Kadalûr returned to Trincomali. The senior captain of the expedition brought with him a letter from Bussy, written early in June, painting his needs and imploring assistance.

Suffren was not the man to turn a deaf ear to an exhortation of of that nature. It is true that he knew his fleet to be inferior in number, in condition, and in weight of metal to that of the enemy; † but he felt that the interests of France would be better served by his provoking an unequal contest, the issue of which might however be favourable, than by allowing her last army to succumb without a blow.‡ He therefore did not hesitate for a moment. He did not even consult any one; but summoning on board the flag ship the captains of his fleet he informed them in a few spirit-stirring words that the army at Kadalûr was lost unless the fleet went to succour it; that the glory of saving it was reserved for them; and that whatever might be the result, they would at least attempt it.

These words were received by the assembled captains with the greatest enthusiasm. Instantly every hand lent itself to the

* Suffren had been promoted in March 1773 to the rank of *lieutenant-général*, a title corresponding to that of vice-admiral.

† The French fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war and one frigate carrying 1,008 guns; the English of

eighteen ships of war carrying 1,202 guns.

‡ The conduct of Suffren on this occasion, may well be contrasted with that of d'Aché in 1761. *Vide History of the French in India.*

work. The crews of all but three of the frigates were transferred to the line of battle ships to bring up the complement of these to working capacity. On the 11th June the fleet left Trincomali. On the evening of the 13th it came within sight of Kadalûr to gladden by its appearance the hearts of the soldiers who had been forced that day to retire within its fortifications.

Sir Edward Hughes was at Porto Novo. His light ships having signalled the French fleet, he at once stood in for Kadalûr, and anchored in front of it. The 14th and 15th, the state of the wind rendered it impossible for Suffren to force on an action, and the English admiral, rightly regarding the capture of Kadalûr as the main object of the campaign, conceived that he best contributed to the accomplishment of that object by covering the besieged fort. On the 16th, however, the wind changed, and the French fleet bore down on its enemy. The English admiral at once weighed anchor and stood to sea, hoping that by standing out and catching the light breezes which he thought he detected in the open, he might bear down in his turn and take Suffren at disadvantage. But this did not happen, and Suffren, still bearing towards the coast, reaped the fruit of his happy audacity by occupying, without firing a shot, the place in front of Kadalûr which had just been vacated by his English rival!

It is impossible to speak in terms of too high commendation of this display of combined genius and daring. To beat on the open sea a fleet of equal or of greater numbers is no doubt a splendid achievement; but it is an achievement in which the lower nature of man, that which is termed brute force, has a considerable share. But to gain all the effect of a victory without fighting, to dislodge an enemy superior in numbers from a position of vital importance without firing a shot,—that indeed is an exercise of the highest faculties of man's higher nature, a feat of intellectual power not often bestowed, but generally combined, when given, with that strength of nerve which knows when and how to dare.*

* It is curious to note the manner in which this achievement is alluded to by English writers. Wilks, with his usual straightforwardness, writes thus: "On the 16th, he (Hughes) weighed anchor, with the expectation of bringing the enemy to close action, but such was the superior skill or fortune of M. Suffren that on the same night, at half-past 8, he anchored abreast of the fort, and the dawn of day presented to the English army before Cuddalore the mortifying spectacle of the French fleet in the exact position abandoned by their own on the previous day. the English

fleet being invisible and its situation unknown." The author of *Memoirs of the late war in Asia*, himself a combatant, speaks of the French fleet as "a crazy fleet consisting of 15 sail of ships, half of them in very bad condition." He merely mentions that "it occupied the place vacated by Sir E. Hughes' fleet consisting of 18 coppered ships (their crews greatly debilitated by sickness)." Campbell and the writer of the *Transactions* pass over the event in silence. Even Mill ignores it; but it is a well-attested fact.

The clocks of Kadalûr were striking half-past eight when Suffren anchored before the town. With the prescience of a true commander he had discovered that of the two enemies before him it was necessary to drive off the one before attacking the other. Were he to lend his sailors to join in an attack on General Stuart, he might at any moment be assailed at a disadvantage by Admiral Hughes. Instead therefore of disembarking his own men he embarked a thousand soldiers to strengthen his ships.

This embarkation took place on the 17th. On the 18th Suffren weighed anchor and stood out, but neither on that day nor on the day following could he succeed in bringing the enemy to action. On the 20th November Sir Edward Hughes, whose men were suffering from scurvy, and whose supplies of water were running short,* found it absolutely necessary to accept a contest or to bear up for Madras. He chose the former alternative.

In the contest which was about to commence Suffren was in number of ships, in their condition, and in weight of metal considerably inferior to the English.† On the other hand his ships were better manned. But that which gave him the greatest confidence was the quality of his captains. For the first time the ships of his fleet were commanded by men whom he could trust.

At ½-past 4 in the afternoon, the two fleets, having come within range, almost simultaneously opened fire. Immediately afterwards the *Flamand*, 50, attempting to pierce the enemy's line, was attacked on both sides by the *Exeter* and the *Inflexible*. Her captain, de Salvart, was killed, but the first lieutenant succeeded in rescuing her from her perilous position.

Whilst this was being attempted the *Héros* and *Illustre* engaged at once the *Superb*, the *Monarca* and the *Barford*; the *Argonaute* the *Sultan*; the *Petit Annibal* the *Africa*; the *Vengeur* the *Magnamine*; the *Hardi* at once the *Bristol* and

* He had lost, during little more than a month, nearly 3,000 men from the same cause. It is to this that the English writers attribute his unwillingness to accept an engagement.

† The English fleet consisted of the *Gibraltar*, 80, the *Defence*, 74, the *Hero*, 74, the *Sultan*, 74, the *Superb*, 74, the *Cumberland*, 74, the *Monarca*, 70, the *Barford*, 70, the *Inflexible*, 64, the *Exeter*, 64, the *Worcester*, 64, the *Africa*, 64, the *Sceptre*, 64, the *Magnamine*, 64, the *Eagle*, 64, the *Monmouth*, 64, the *Bristol*, 50, the *Isis*, 50.

The French fleet, of the *Fendant*, 74, the *Argonaute*, 74, the *Héros*,

74, the *Illustre*, 74, the *Annibal*, 74, the *Sphinx*, 64, the *Brillant*, 64, the *Ajazz*, 64, the *Vengeur*, 64, the *Sévère*, 64, the *Hardi*, 64, the *Artésien*, 64, the *St. Michel*, 60, the *Flamand*, 50, the *Petit Annibal*, 50, and the *Consolante* frigate, 40, brought into the line. The French had also three frigates, the *Fine*, the *Cleopâtre* and the *Coventry*. On board of one of these, in consequence of an express order of the king, provoked by the capture of Count de Grasse in his contest with Rodney, Suffren hoisted his flag during the action. The English had also two frigates, the *Active* and the *Medea*.

the *Monmouth*. In the rear division the *Fendant* encountered first the *Inflexible* and then the *Gibraltar*, whilst the *Sphinx* tackled the *Defence*. The other ships of both fleets were not less actively engaged.

At about half-past 5 the mizen topmast of the *Fendant* caught fire, and her commander was forced to take her for a moment out of the line. The *Gibraltar*, with whom she had been engaged, seized this opportunity to attempt to break the French line, but the *Flamand* covered her consort and kept the enemy at bay till the fire was extinguished, and the *Fendant* returned to her position.

The murderous contest was kept up on both sides until past seven o'clock, when darkness supervened and the firing ceased. Neither fleet had lost a ship, both had been severely handled; but the practical victory would be naturally to that which would be able to compel the other to retire from the vicinity of Kadalûr. That question was soon decided.

During the night the French fleet beat about endeavouring to remain close to Kadalûr, but the currents took it down to Pondichery. There, in the course of the following day, it anchored, but early on the morning of the 22nd, his light ships signalling the English fleet bearing N.-N.-E, Suffren immediately weighed anchor and stood out in pursuit. When, however, he reached Kadalûr the enemy was no longer in sight; Sir E. Hughes had borne up for Madras.*

Thus then had Suffren by combined skill and valour attained one of his objects. He had driven one enemy from the coast; he would now aid in forcing the other to retreat. That same evening, the 23rd June, he landed not only the thousand soldiers he had borrowed from the fort, but added to them 2,400 men from his sailors.

More he could not do. He could command and win battles on sea. He could send his men on shore, but on the land his own men, he himself even, came under the orders of Bussy. And we have seen what the Bussy of 1783 was. Yet this man, once so distinguished, had now an opportunity at the like of which he

* The impartial historian, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilks, by no means a lover of the French, states that "The English Admiral, after receiving the detailed reports of the state of each ship, found the whole of his equipments so entirely crippled, his crews so lamentably reduced, and the want of water so extreme, that he deemed it indispensable to incur the mortification of bearing away for the Roads of

Madras, whilst Suffren wresting from his enemies the praise of superior address, and even the claim of victory, if victory belong to him who attains his object, resumed his position in the anchorage of Cuddalore." The italics are my own. Campbell and the author of the *Transactions* are, as usual, vague when the matter refers to the success of the French.

would have clutched in his younger days. Covered by the fleet, he could make an assault on the enemy,—the landing of whose battering train had been prevented by the success of Suffren,—with numbers superior to their own. Suffren urged him to this course; d'Offelize urged him; the officers of his staff urged him. But he would not. He let the golden moments slip. Then Suffren, disgusted, returned on board his ship, asking Bussy as he left him “if he expected that he could take his ships to beat the enemy on shore.”

At last, after many hesitations, when General Stuart had recovered from the moral depression which the defeat of the English fleet had caused him, Bussy determined to risk a sortie. But a sortie to succeed must be composed of picked men, and those men must be well commanded. Bussy omitted both these necessary precautions. The men he ordered for the work were not only not specially selected, but their number was insufficient for the purpose; their leader moreover, the Chevalier de Dumas, was the least trusted officer in the French force.* The result corresponded to the plan. The sortie, made at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 26th June, was repulsed with the loss of about 40 men killed, and 100 taken prisoners.†

Notwithstanding this repulse, the English general was too well aware of his own comparative weakness to attempt an assault. He restricted himself therefore to a blockade, and that of merely a nominal nature. The French troops drew in unopposed all their supplies from the country, and Bussy, even the Bussy of 1783, had become so emboldened as to talk of an attack on the besiegers' camp with his combined force, when suddenly the intelligence that the preliminaries of peace had been signed in Europe, induced both contending parties to agree to a suspension of arms.

This suspension assumed on the 3rd September following a permanent character, by the announcement of the conclusion of the peace known in history as the treaty of Versailles.

The suspension of arms was most unfortunate for France. The army of Stuart before Kadalûr represented the last hope of the English in Southern India. It was reduced then by the want of supplies to the last extremities. An attack by the French in force could have scarcely failed to annihilate it. With its destruction

* C'était un vil intrigant d'une incapacité reconnue. *Roux*. Wilks says he was inconsolable at not having been wounded.

† Amongst the prisoners taken on this occasion was Bernadotte, afterwards Marshal of France, Prince of Pontecorvo, and King of Sweden. He was then a sergeant in the regi-

ment of Aquitaine. After he had attained greatness Bernadotte seized the earliest opportunity of expressing to Colonel Langenheim, who commanded the German legion at Kadalûr, and whom he met again in Hanover, his sense of the kindness with which he had been treated on that occasion.

Madras and all Southern India would have passed over to the French.*

But it was not to be; nor, even if it had been, can it be imagined that the scion of the House of Bourbon who then governed France, well-intentioned though he may have been, would have refused to restore it without conditions. His predecessor, after having lavished French blood and spent French treasure in a war which was costly, and in spite of himself successful, restored at the peace which followed† all his conquests, and agreed even to dismiss his guest from his hearth, saying he "would not treat as a tradesman but as a king." This kingly method of benefiting one's adversaries at the expense of one's country would seem to be an heirloom of the House of Bourbon. For, with respect to India, the treaty of Versailles carried out precisely the same principle. The war which that treaty terminated had been a most disastrous war for England. She had lost, and rightly lost, her American colonies; she seemed, for the moment, shorn of her prestige; the French could have insisted at least on the restoration of her possessions in India to the *status quo ante 1761*. This was a cardinal point which neither the Republic nor the Empire would have foregone. But the Bourbons "treated as kings and not as traders." Consequently, though England had but one army in Southern India, and that army was exposed to destruction, Louis XVI. renounced every advantage, and allowed French India to accept, after a victorious campaign, conditions almost identical with those which had been forced upon her after the capture of her capital in 1761.

Yet the indifference of the ruler of France, noxious as it was to French interests, could not detract in the smallest degree from the merits of the illustrious man who did, for a time, restore French influence to Southern India. That man was the Bailli ‡ de Suffren. His five contests with an English fleet, of always nearly equal, sometimes of greater force, stamp him as being inferior to none of the great seamen whom France and England had till then produced. This has been virtually admitted by the writers on naval subjects of both nations. Mr. Clerk, whose work on naval tactics, originally published in 1778, is said to have inspired Rodney with the famous idea of breaking the line, republished, in 1790, an edition in which he cites the manœuvres of

* Professor H. H. Wilson thus writes on this subject: "It seems probable that but for the opportune occurrence of peace with France, the South of India would have been lost to the English. The annihilation of the army at Cuddalore would have been followed by the siege of Ma-

dras, and there was little chance of defending it successfully against Tippoo and the French."

† The Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

‡ In 1782 he had been nominated Bailli of the order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

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Suffren as constituting a lesson to all admirals to come, and indicates him, as having been the first commander to introduce the principle of fighting at close quarters, subsequently carried to so great a perfection by Nelson. Vice-Admiral Bouët Willaumez, in his work entitled '*Batailles de terre et de mer*,' says of Suffren that he was "the first to disdain the routine professed by the admirals of his epoch, consisting of ranging the squadron in one single line of battle. He cared not for the traditions which required one to fight at a moderate distance. He engaged within pistol-shot." The naval historian, Dr. Campbell, whose anti-French sympathies are strongly marked, is forced to admit that Suffren was "worthy of being the rival and opponent of Sir Edward Hughes". I have already cited the opinion of Colonel Wilks. Amongst all the works I have consulted on the subject I have not found a divergent sentiment.

The character of Suffren is thus justly summarised by M. Hennequin: "To an imperturbable coolness in action Suffren united an extreme ardour and activity. Courageous even to rashness, he showed an inflexible rigour towards officers whom he suspected of weakness or cowardice. In a word, he united in his person all the qualities which make a warrior illustrious, a sailor skilful, and a man esteemed. Those who knew him, and especially the officers who sailed under his orders, never pronounce his name even now but with respect and admiration".

Suffren returned to France in 1784, to receive high honours from his Sovereign, but he did not long survive to enjoy them. He was killed in a duel in 1788 at the age of sixty-two.

Had he but lived, would he have been too old to command the fleet which fought Lord Howe on the 1st June 1794? Could he have occupied with advantage the place of Brueys and Villeneuve? These are questions which the French at least, who owned him and who glory in him, do ask, and which they have a right to ask. Nor will we, we English, who honour genius, and who recognise that genius in the man who, though a foreigner, was still the precursor of our own Nelson, grudge them the answer which their pride and their patriotism alike dictate.

Meanwhile peace between the European rivals reigned, again in Southern India. By the interval of nine years which elapsed between the signature of the treaty of Versailles and the outbreak of the war of the Revolution the English profited to fix their domination on a basis so substantial as to be proof against further direct hostility on the part of their great rival. But the indirect efforts which were then attempted were coloured by a tinge of romance almost entirely wanting in the history I have just recorded.

G. B. MALLESON.

* *Essai historique sur la vie et les campagnes du Bailli de Suffren.*

ART. III.—HURDWAR.

IF scenic effect can prepare the mind to receive the impressions of superstition, the situation of Hurdwár harmonises admirably with its mythology, of which a brief account has been given in a former paper.* The holy place stands on the right bank of the Ganges, at the very point where that river, bursting through the Sewálik hills, debouches upon the plains nearly two hundred miles from its source, about a thousand feet above the level of the sea. It seems to nestle in the bosom of the gorge formed by the disruption of the mountain chain, whose jagged ridges, grotesquely picturesque in their rude barrenness, though wanting, it is true, in real grandeur, overlook the waters of the mighty river, which here rushes over a bed of boulders and shingle sloping rapidly downwards from the forests of the Doon. This gorge is from one to one-and-a-half miles broad, so that the Ganges is not confined to one narrow course. The main stream, the Nil Dhára, so called from its often assuming a dark blue colour under certain atmospheric conditions, washes the foot of Ghándee Deves Puhár, a conical hill sacred to a goddess whose temple crowns its summit several hundred feet above the shore, dividing the Bijnour district of the North-West Provinces from British Gurhwál. On this side the scenery is more imposing, and boasts a somewhat richer vegetation than the heights commanding the town itself, past which flows a smaller channel that feeds the Ganges canal and rejoins the parent stream below Kunkhur, some two miles lower down. The space thus enclosed by the Nil Dhára and its offshoot forms an island of considerable extent, chiefly composed of sand and shingle, but culturable in parts, and elsewhere clothed with under-wood, known as the Roree or Majhára. Similar islands covered with jungle, sometimes bearing forest trees, occur here and there higher up. The neighbourhood once swarmed with game of every description, from a tiger to a jungle fowl; and a legend of the death of a lion at no great distance from Hurdwár, in years gone by, still flatters the imagination of enthusiastic sportsmen. The climate is perceptibly milder than that of the plains, and although, from the beginning of April till the commencement of the rains, the noontide sun beats down with tremendous force upon the valley, the heat is generally tempered after nightfall by a strong breeze blowing from the highlands, popularly termed the *Dadoo*, more poetically the *Ranee ka punkah*, or Queen's fan. In the whole of its majestic course from the Sewálíks to the sea, the Ganges presents us with no scene better calculated to impose upon the imagination of the devotee or please the eye of the ordinary

* Vide, *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi. Art. i.

spectator, and the advantages of the site are enhanced by associations inseparably connected with the traditional history of the Hindoo race.

Brahminical authority places Hurdwár within the boundaries of Menu's Bramhávarta, and those who may feel inclined to doubt the correctness of this, will perhaps be prepared to admit that we should look for Bramárshi, the supposed mother-country of the Brahmans, somewhere in its vicinity. Its proximity to the earliest so-called Aryan colony, of which anything is known, is also significant in connection with the veneration in which a place of such slight intrinsic importance, a small town consisting of only one street, whose existing shrines possess neither magnificence nor antiquity, has been held from time immemorial amongst the higher castes throughout the whole of India. In fact, pilgrimages elsewhere are but the reflection of the one ideal pilgrimage to Hurdwár. One would therefore naturally expect to find some allusion to it in the great national epic. We are accordingly told that Arjun bathed there during his self-imposed exile of twelve years. This episode has indeed been condemned as a Brahminical interpolation in the Mahabhárata, but why, it is not easy to understand, although the original passage may well have been altered and embellished to suit the taste of a modern audience, for the Bhurukund Ráj is said to have extended northward to the foot of the Sewálíks, and Hústináporé is not much more than fifty miles south of Hurdwár, as the crow flies. To deny the deification of the Ganges, in common with that of many other rivers, a much more remote and deeper origin than Brahminical ritualism seems preposterous. The probable emotions of the first Aryan adventurers at the sight of the mighty stream might be compared, without any great effort of imagination, to those of Pizarro's followers at the sight of the Amazon, to those of the fugitives from Cunaxa at the sight of the sea, both in character and intensity. When these subsided, the natural impulse of a semi-barbarous horde would have been to adore the great river, and the simple element-worship that would thus spring up in such a community need not be confounded with the mummery of priestcraft, however anxious the priesthood may be to reconcile the two by means of a system elaborately devised for the purpose of confusing the understanding, and admirably calculated to do so. From this point of view, the union of Santunu, Bharata's great-grandson, with the goddess Gunga, should be regarded rather in the light of a national legend, symbolical of real facts, than as "one of those senseless myths by which the Brahmans sought to glorify the ancestry of the later Rajas,"* for has not the river

* Wheeler's *History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 50.

proved a fostering mother to the descendants of those who settled on her banks?

While sojourning at Hurdwár, Arjun met Uloopee, daughter of Básukee, King of the Nágás, the inhabitants of Khánde Bun, a still familiar name applied to a great portion of the Meerut division from Bolundshehr to Saharunpore. Her immediate occupation was the same as his. She was *bathing*, and the story of her subsequent union with the Pandava is most probably typical of early intercourse between the Rajpoot and Takshac races. It is, however, remarkable that, whereas the Agurwál and other Suraojee Buneas, who pretend to trace their descent from Vásuk's daughters by the sons of Agur or Oogur Seyn, King of Oude, an alliance the account of which is at least curious, if not instructive, avoid Hurdwár itself religiously, they hold an annual fair at Hustinapore (*Kartik* 8th to 15th *Sudee*) and bathe there to their hearts' content, other sects, on the contrary, with perversity most provoking to the ethnologist, absolutely neglect Hustinapore, in spite of its close connection with the early history of their race. This anomaly renders the episode, whether authentic or interpolated, all the more significant: The narrative plainly implies that the sanctity of Hurdwár dates from a period anterior to its celebrity as a Brahminical *Pirth*, a character which it must have assumed long after the downfall of the Hustinapore Ráj. This conclusion is warranted by the admissions of the Brahmans themselves, who, when once induced to deal with sober facts, assign its earliest terrestrial glories to the close of the fourth century A. D. Towards the middle of the seventh, we at length learn something of the place from a credible eye-witness, unfortunately a most narrow-minded and one-sided observer, the ubiquitous Hwen Thsang (635 A. D.)*

Hurdwár was then situated on the eastern confine of Shrugná, a kingdom extending in breadth from the neighbourhood of Thanetur to the Ganges, and reaching in length from the Himalayas to Mozuffernugger, thus including a strip of Sirhind, a large patch of the Upper Doáb and the whole of Dehra Doon, besides part of the Kyárdá Doon, a circumstance corroborating the tradition of a Gurhwálee descent upon the plains in early times. The famous Khálee stone may indicate one of its boundaries, and the pillar removed by Sháh Feroze from Khizrâbâd, twenty-seven miles south-west of that venerable landmark, was most probably one of its public monuments. General Cunningham has identified the site of its capital with Sugh, a village on the right bank of the Boodhee Jumna, near Booreea. As

* Vide, *Memoires de Hiouen Thsang*, Vol. ii., p. 213 seq.

might be expected, Buddhism had become unpopular at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit. Nevertheless, the principality maintained several monasteries, of which the remains discovered at Behut, in the north-west of the Saharunpore district, by Captain Cautley in 1834, perhaps mark the site of one. Notwithstanding their heterodoxy, the Chinese traveller bears testimony favourable to the disposition of the inhabitants. They were, he says, frank and sincere, virtuous and studious. Virtue and literature are now at a discount, but the Goojur and Rajpoot population is still mainly composed of what may be considered, for Asiatics, fine manly fellows. Then they appear to have been more refined. Idolatry had, however, already obtained a pernicious ascendancy over their minds. The pilgrim specially notices the Ganges:—"In the profane histories of the country it is called Fo-choui, 'or the waters which bring' happiness (Mahābhadrā). Even though one be steeped in crime, a dip therein is sufficient to wash out all sin on the spot, and those who drown themselves there out of contempt for life, are born again to everlasting bliss among the gods." If the remains of a man are immersed in it after death, he is saved from future punishment, and, as the swelling waves flow onward with the current, his soul "is wafted to the opposite bank." A parable is here introduced, which seems to favour the suggestion that the local cultus may have been affected by Buddhistic influences* :—"There was a man belonging to the kingdom of Tchi-sse-tsen (Sinhala—Ceylon), named Ti-po-pousa (Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva), who possessed a profound knowledge of the truth and understood the nature of all the laws. Pitying the ignorance of his fellow-creatures he visited this country for the purpose of instructing them and acting as their guide. So all, both men and women, young and old, assembled on the banks of the river, whose waves were agitated and rushing impetuously along. Then Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva, softening the light of his countenance, tried to draw some of the water, but it receded violently the moment he stooped his head. Now he wore an air different from the common herd. A heretic accordingly asked him, 'what, oh doctor, is the reason of your strange demeanour?'

"Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva answered :—"My father, mother and nearest relations are in the kingdom of Tchi-sse-tsen (Sinhala) and I fear they are suffering from hunger and thirst, but I hope, notwithstanding the distance between us, to relieve them with this refreshing water."

"The heretics rejoined :—"You are mistaken, doctor. Why did you not think twice before making such a foolish ex-

* Vide, *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi, p. 213 seq.

"periment? Your native land is a long way off, and is separated from this by an immense tract of country with many mountains and rivers between. If then you make the water spring away from you for the purpose of appeasing the thirst of your relatives, it is just as though you were to walk backwards for the purpose of going forwards. In fact, no one ever heard of such a thing."

"Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva replied:—'Even those who are kept by their crimes in the path of darkness experience the good effects of this water, and, though mountains and rivers separate us, why should they not get relief from it?'"

"The heretics, then at length understanding the difficulty propounded to them, acknowledged themselves beaten and abjured their errors. They received the true law, corrected their faults, were reformed, and finally expressed a desire to become his disciples."

It is not easy to understand the exact nature of the problem propounded by Dêva Bôdhi-Sattva to the wretched heretics, still less the manner of its solution. At the same time, the description of the sage's proceedings has a peculiar significance with regard to the present subject, for his desire to convey Ganges water to his relatives can hardly fail to remind one of the fable about the resuscitation of Sâgur's sons, and the enunciation of a Brahminical canon by an apostle of Buddhism is very striking:—"Even those who are kept by their crimes in the path of darkness (hell?) experience the good effects of this water." It is also remarkable that effigies of Buddha have been discovered amid the vestiges of the ancient structures that must once have covered the right bank of the river from the great bathing ghaut down to Myapore, which Hwen Thsang may be allowed to describe in his own words. "On the north-west frontier of this kingdom. (Madâwur, now Bijnour), close to the eastern(?) bank of the river King-Kia (the Ganges) stands the town of Mo-you-lo (Mâyâpûr), which is twenty li (3½ miles) in circumference. The population is very large, and streams of pure water encircle it like a belt. The country produces Teou-chi (brass), crystal and vessels made of precious stones.

"At a short distance from the town, near the Ganges, there is a large temple sacred to the gods (Devâlaya), where many miracles are performed. Inside there is a tank, the sides of which are built of stones fitted together with great skill. A conduit has been made to let water into it from the river. The inhabitants of the five Indies call this place the *Gate of the Ganges* (Gungâ-dwara). Here happiness is obtained and sins are washed out, and people assemble at all seasons by hundreds and thousands to bathe. Kings who love to do good, have here established a

"charitable institution" (Pounyasālā),^{*} which is provided with "choice viands and drugs of all sorts, for the purpose of distributing alms to widowers and widows, and assisting orphans and "men who have lost their families."

Moyoulo is obviously Máyoura or Máyápoor, the town of Máyá not "la ville du paon," as suggested by St. Julien. But Hwen Thsang's topography presents one difficulty. Myapore is situated on the western or right bank of the Ganges, not on the eastern or left. General Cunningham in his archæological report for 1873-4^{*} simply treats this as an undoubted mistake, an expedient which appears to me far preferable to the theory subsequently advanced in his *Ancient Geography of India*, that an old channel of the river may have once flowed close under the hills over "ground now covered with the houses of Hurdwār," which is a physical impossibility. Another alternative is left. It should be remembered that Máyápooree Kshetr is not confined to the site of Máyápoor Proper at the head of the Ganges Canal, but includes a very extensive tract reaching a long way south. Hwen Thsang's Moyoulo may have been identical with Kunkhul, a town of great antiquity and sanctity, and it is likely enough that the very same branch of the Ganges which now washes its eastern outskirts may have formerly flowed on the other side of the town, west of which the trace of an old channel can be easily detected. The Chinese traveller too explicitly mentions that the place was *surrounded by water on all sides*.

It is observable that the worship of Vishnu and Mahádev had not yet superseded that of the goddess Gunga, nor the name of Hureedwār or Hurdwār that of Gungadwār, so that Hwen Thsang's tour must be supposed to have taken place in the Treta Yuga, a fact which further stultifies Brahminical chronology. The temple signalled by him must have stood on the rising ground behind the ghaut leading down to the Brimh Kund (the Hur Kee Pairee), where the Bráhmans exhibit a ruin that evidently belonged to a magnificent structure in former days, said to be the remains of a temple erected by Shunker Swámee in honor of Mahadev.[†]

After Hwen Thsang's visit, Hurdwār disappears from the pages of authentic history for hundreds of years, and we hear nothing of it till the time of Timour's invasion, except from the traditions of the Poondeers, the predominant Rajpoot clan in the Upper Doáb, who love to associate their earliest permanent settlements between the rivers, about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, with this interesting spot.

^{*} Vide, *Published Report*, vol. ii, p. 231, of *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 98.
[†] Vide, *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi vol. i, p. 315.

They are as vague about their antecedents previous to that date as the priesthood on the subject of their religion before the appearance of Shunker Acharj. This practical disclaimer of any very ancient civilization follows the usual prelude of fiction, to which we must now return.

The Poondeers are Sun-born (Surajbunsees). Their eponymous hero is Polustya, the sage of Kedáru—whence the name Polust or Polist, their family designation (*gotē*). This famous Rishee, properly speaking, one of the ten primeval beings who sprung from Brahma's body at the creation, appears in the local genealogies as the son of Srádhádev. The Polist pedigree, between which and one collated by Mr. J. Prinsep from various lists* there is, in many respects, a surprising agreement, is far too long to reproduce *in extenso*. It will be sufficient to note the most striking points in it. We first find the Polists, according to their own account, located in lower Bengal under the leadership of Rohtas or Rohtáswa, the supposed founder of Rohtásgurb, twenty-third in descent from Mareechee, twentieth in descent from Srádhádev. Twenty-fifth in descent from him comes the illustrious Ram Chunder, whose second son, Kush, was the progenitor of the true Poondeers. Indeed he is generally admitted to have been the first who bore this soubriquet. Opinions differ about its origin. Some say his father and mother went to Kulkshetr (Thanesur) to make an offering to the *manes* of his grandfather Duserath, and Seeta sat down by the edge of the sacred pool to wait for her husband, while he went to purchase the ingredients necessary for preparing a votive cake (flour, rice, &c.), but he stayed away at the bazaar so long that she got tired and determined to do the business herself. So she kneaded a ball of clay (*pind*) into the semblance of the real thing and threw it into the water. The old man's spirit was thus appeased, and a shadowy hand, rising from the depths of the pool, grasped the gift as it fell. Kush, being born shortly after, was nicknamed Pindeer, which was jingled into Pind Poondeer and afterwards became Poondeer. Others tell a quite different story. After being rescued from Ravana, Seeta took up her abode in the woods with the blind Rishee Valmееkee, and there brought forth her elder son Lava. Now the old man used to take care of the infant every day, while the mother went out of doors to bathe. But one day she happened to take the boy away with her during his absence. When he returned, he groped about in vain, looking for the child, and could not make out what had become of it. Convinced at last that it was lost, he resolved to provide a substitute, and, moulding an effigy out of a lump of clay (*pind*) stiffened with Kusha grass, in the likeness of the boy, he in-

* *Essays on Indian Antiquities, &c.*, Edited by E. Thomas, Vol. ii, p. 232.

spired it with life, so that Seeta, on her return, found herself the mother of two children, the second of whom was distinguished by the jingling title of Pind Poondeer. Another much more probable derivation will be noticed presently.

Telingdev, the eighth in descent from Kush, emigrated from Oude to Behár, which was called Telinga or Telingdesh after him, and is generally known by that name up country. A descendant of his (seventh in descent?), Raja Jurásur of Laharoo, was the victim of a strange phenomenon. A long hair grew out of the palm of one of his hands and persisted in growing longer and longer, in spite of every effort made to eradicate it. His advisers came to the conclusion that the consecration of a white elephant to the gods was the only sure means of getting rid of the excrescence. White elephants were, however, almost as scarce as white crows, and the king eventually had recourse to a pilgrimage to Thanésur. During the performance of his ablutions at that place, he accidentally learned that Raja Sondhoo, the principal local magnate and a Kolee Rajpoot, had an animal that would suit his purpose exactly. He consequently made a bid for it, but Sondhoo would not come to terms. Jurásur, being a much more powerful chief, accordingly announced his intention of seizing the prize by force of arms, and at once proceeded to do so. Sondhoo then compromised the matter by giving his daughter Alupdey in marriage to Murásur, the stranger's son, with the white elephant, a very valuable mare and other presents as a dower (672 S.) Jurásur was thus placed in a position to perform the needful ceremony, and returned to his seat of government with his hand perfectly bald.

Murásur settled at Poondree, not far from Kaithul. His career was short and came to a tragic end. Incompatibility of temper proved the bane of his married life. Raneé Alupdey was a woman of an imperious intractable disposition, utterly devoid of humour, whereas her husband had a keen sense of the ridiculous and loved a joke at her expense. His favourite witticism was to tell his syce 'to be quick and saddle the Kolin,' in 'allusion to his wife's caste, whenever he wanted to have a ride on the mare. This he repeated once too often, for the Raneé at length lost patience and got her brothers to assassinate him.

Having had her revenge, Alupdey felt it her duty to immolate herself upon her murdered husband's funeral pyre, where she made the necessary arrangements for self-cremation, after decently disposing the household property around her in the time-honoured Seythian fashion. But just as the attendants were kindling the pile, Rae Sham Das, the family bard (Bhát), solicited the donation usual on such occasions. The lady answered that she had nothing to give him, all her goods and chattels having

been dedicated to the gods. He still persisted; and a sublime idea suddenly struck her. She was seven months gone with child, and there was no reason why the life of the infant should be sacrificed as well as her own. So she asked for a knife, cut her belly open, and extracting the babe with an unflinching hand, consigned it to the care of the importunate bard, as the only gift she had to bestow.

Modern history affords an instance of similar fortitude. When the news of brave Daood Khan's death at the battle of Burhanpore reached Almedabad,* his wife, the daughter of a Hindoo zemindár, happening to be in the same condition as Alupdey, seized a dagger, a love token from her husband, and ripping herself up with amazing dexterity, carefully drew forth the child, which she handed to a bystander, and then expired.*

The pith of the earlier precedent lies in the fact that pregnancy was a bar to the suicidal rite of *suttee*, for which Alupdey having thus qualified herself calmly submitted her body to the flames. Sham Das fulfilled his trust religiously. Adopting the boy, he called him Soma Singh (corrupted to Ism Singh†), apparently from Soma, the Moon, a name indicating the relationship of his family to the Lunar rather than the Solar race, and, in process of time, had him betrothed to the daughter of the Rajá of Lowkee, a town situated a few miles south of Sumána. When the lad reached man's estate, the story of his father's fate filled his heart with a desire for vengeance, but this was plainly impossible without the assistance of his relatives in Behár. He therefore sought the help of his grandfather, and, returning to Poondree at the head of 12,000 Rajpoot cavaliers, declared war against King Soudhoo, whose stock was soon extirpated. The young Raja then led a colony to Myapore, whence his descendants spread over the land, colonising 1,444 villages, half on this side of the Ganges, half on the other. I may here pause to suggest the strong probability of Poondeer being a local title* derived from Poondree, where the Poondeers rested before permanently occupying the Antarbéd.

Buisákh Budee 13th, 721S. is the generally accepted date of Ism Singh's arrival at Myapore, where he assumed the title of "King of Hurdwár," erecting a sacred standard on the Hur-kee Pairee. The Polist genealogy places only seventeen generations between him and Ram Chunder, detracting immensely from the antiquity of the Ramáyana, unless his intermediate ancestors be supposed to have had very long lives. The Poondeers also insist upon attributing the revival of the glory of Hurdwár, not to

* Translation of the *Sair-ul-muta-khureen*, Calcutta Edition, 1769, Vol. Kour, and sometimes Ismdo.
p. 103.

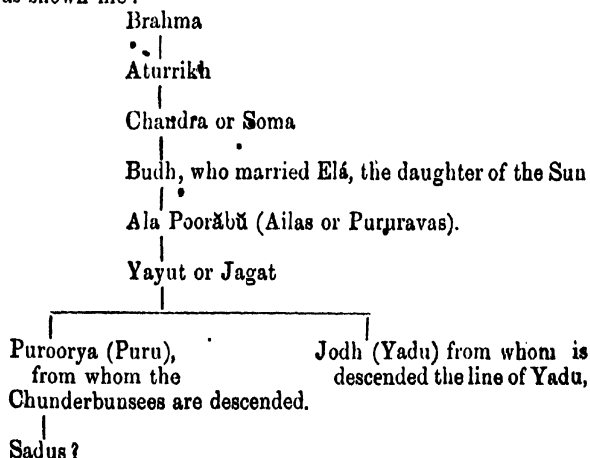
† *Aliás* Usmásúr, Sopa or Sobah

Shunker Acharj, but to Ism Singh, three hundred years later. The place, they add, was then desolate and the whole country in a state of anarchy, foreshadowed, perhaps, by Hwen Thsang's observations, thirty years before, on the decay of the capital, and his silence on the subject of a local Government. At all events, there was no community in the neighbourhood powerful enough to resist the encroachments of the Rajpoot colonists, who continued to organize expeditions in search of fresh acquisitions year after year. In this manner they gradually pushed their way as far as Koel and Etah, becoming, in the mean-time, the back-bone of the population of Saharunpore. Although the leader of each successive band of adventurers arrogated to himself the title of Rájá, which no one cared to dispute, it is acknowledged that the minor heroes of the race were nothing more than influential zemindárs, owing their independence to what produced a great abundance of Rájás and Maharájás in later days, the absence of any paramount authority. Sometimes the head of the family preferred trying his fortune abroad, yielding his birth-right to a younger brother. Thus Joulálá or Jálup, grandson of Rájá Chand, gave his name to Jouláapore (1132, S.), a town two miles south-west of Hurdwār, now a hotbed of Muhammadanism, in spite of the strong Brahminical element in the population, while his elder brother, Náhtuh, founded a well-known colony composed of twelve villages, called after him the Náhtuh Béráh, on the northern border of the Mozuffernugger district. The story goes that he was riding along through the forest that still covered the greater part of the country, when he chanced to see a ram fighting with a goat. The augurs in his suite decided this to be an auspicious omen, for the land that had a good breed of animals would be sure to breed good men, and was made for warriors to dwell in. At this the chieftain cast his horsewhip—the sceptre of the mounted Rajpoot—upon the ground, in token that the soil was henceforth his, but his counsellors rebuked him, foretelling that the rule of one who threw his sceptre away could not abide. Nevertheless, Rájá Náhtuh pitched his tents upon the spot, calling it Sona (सोन), because it was desolate. From Sona sprang eleven off-shoots, the whole twelve constituting the Náhtuh commonwealth.

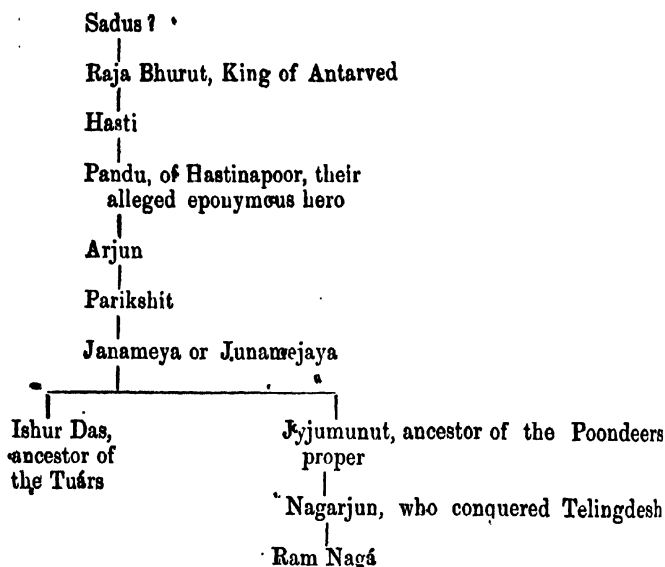
With Náhtuh came his brother Chondá, who rested at Nulherá Burabás, a few miles eastward. Burabás is the equivalent of Theeká, a designation commonly applied to the principal of a homogeneous cluster of villages. His people eventually spread over the Khátah, a tract comprising forty-two townships, occupied by a robust and turbulent peasantry, who acquired an unenviable notoriety during the earlier Sikh invasions and have maintained their reputation in the present century.

The power of the Poondeers had reached its zenith by the time of the Muhammadan conquest, and they retained considerable local influence down to the decline and fall of the Empire, when the Goojur chieftains of Juberherah and Bysoomha organized a confederacy capable of making head against them. To this day the whole of the triangular tract traversed by the Ganges and Jumna watershed, extending from the village of Kujoorwálá near Deobund, in the heart of Saharunpore, due north to the foot of the Sewálíks, and north-east to the town of Jourasee, sixteen miles from Hurdwár, is called the Rotálá, the land of the Ráwuts or Raos, the kinsmen of the Ráná, the titular Chief of the clan, who is still regarded with sentimental reverence by all except the Muhammadan perverts of the Jouálápore stock, notwithstanding poverty and misfortune.

The Saharunpore legends about the settlement of the Poondeers at Hurdwár receive curious confirmation from those of Etah,* where these Rajpoots appear under the name of Pooreers, an obvious corruption of the original title. It is, however, strange, that, whereas those of the Upper Doáb stoutly maintain their descent from the sun, in the face of Ism Sing's suggestive surname Soma, the Etah men are equally positive that they are descended from the moon, and claim Pandu as their eponymous hero; but this apparent contradiction probably denotes nothing more than a missing link between two separate classes of tradition. The Etah genealogy, apparently a mutilated abstract, is given as it was shown me:—



* Communicated to me by Mr. W. Police, Mozuffernugger.
Williams, District Superintendent of



They thus distinctly connect themselves with the Takshac race, and give a very remarkable account of their settlement at Hurdwár. Ram Nágá's son or descendant, Rájá Ben, having married the daughter of "the Rájá of Hurdwár," was assassinated by his father-in-law, because he turned iconoclast and forbade the performance of all religious rites and ceremonies. It is also alleged that he was transformed into a snake by the curse of the sage Durvásá, and still haunts Bishn Tirth in that shape.* His son Sopa Kour, a name by which Ism Singh is perfectly well known in Saharunpore, on succeeding to the throne of Telingdesh, straightway avenged his parent's death by slaying his maternal grandfather, and annexed the Hurdwár Ráj. Such, according to Etah folk-lore, was the origin of the Poondeer settlements in the Upper Doab. Now there is a sufficiently close resemblance between the history of Ben, the supposed site of whose fort at the foot of the Sewálíks, below Myápore, is an object of interest to antiquarians to justify his identification with Murásur, and, this being admitted, we here have the old story of the Poondeer immigration repeated almost word for word by perfectly independent authorities, with one marked distinction, that the new-comers, far from being ritualists friendly to the priesthood, belonged, on the contrary, to a hostile sect, whose representative has not yet fully expiated

* Vide, *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi, p. 200.

his impieties. Rájá Chánd, whose namè has been already mentioned, is said to have emigrated to Etah about one thousand years ago. Dheer or Dheer Sâwunt, a hero famous in Rajpoot tradition, appears as one of his sons both in the Saharunpore and the Etah pedigrees. Another was Bijey Singh, the founder of Bijey Gurh in Bundelkhund,* where, according to some authorities, their descendants are called Bondelaa, Bunáphul and Chundele. Although this identification of the Poondeers with the Bondelas may, of course, be simply an accident of fiction, it agrees most happily with General Cunningham's identification of Tri-Kalinga, whose Rájás assumed the title of Lords of Kâlanjjarapura, Kaliujer in Bundelkhund, with Telingáná or Telingdesh.† The same authority places the kingdom of the 'Pundirs or Pándayas' west of the Jumna, corroborating the Saharunpore tradition of their sojourn at Pae Poondree, before they entered the Doáb. The *Gote* of the Etah Poondeers is 'Parusur,' from the sage Purushuvu, son of Shuktru by Ila, daughter of the Sun, to whom there is a tank sacred at Thanesur.,

The various accounts of their progress can hardly be reconciled with the generally received theory of an Aryan invasion from the West and the subsequent colonisation of the country by the invaders at a very remote period, except on the supposition of an exodus in consequence of pressure from without, followed by a return to their more ancient seats when that pressure was removed; a conjecture warranted by the discrepancies between the cognate legends just noticed, in which Pandavas of Hustinapore are confounded with Polists of Oude, Chunderbunsees with Surajbunsees, the godless Ben with the pious Ism Singh, Nágá scions being at the same time grafted on to a pure Rajpoot stock. Their neighbours, the Khoobur Goojurs, the next most powerful clan in the Upper Doáb, preserve some recollection of a descent from the race before which they, in all human probability, receded,—from the line of Jugdeo Puwár of Sreenugger in Gurhwál; a claim supported by the pretensions of the Chandpore dynasty, said to have been founded either by Kunuk Pál of Dhârânugger or Dhâr, in Malwa, the cradle of the Khooburs, or by Bhog Dunt of Gujerát.‡ If this be true, these Goojurs must be connect-

* This is, however, contradicted by a different account received from Mr. R. Hobart, c.s., according to which Dheer Singh and Bijey Singh, invading Coel, defeated the Aheer King Sumra, and changed the name of his stronghold, situated in the Sekundrah pergunnah of the Allygurh district, to Bijeygurh. The principal Pooreer settlement in Etah is in the Bilram

pergunnah of the Kasgunj Tuhseel. It was originally a cluster of eight villages (since split into thirteen), whence the inhabitants style themselves the "Athgaen Pooreers."

† *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. i., p. 518 cf. 136.

‡ Vide *Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon*, p. 81.

ed with the Bogsás, * a half savage people inhabiting the borders of Kumaon, who reckon Jugdeo and Bhog Dhunt among their ancestors. Kunuk Pál is supposed to be identical with the famous Kanishka, and that both these tribes are of Scythian origin can hardly be doubted, though they style themselves Thákurs who have lost caste. The chances are that they are hybrids sprung from an intermixture of the Scythian and Rajpoot races. However this may be, the catastrophe of the great local epic,† the departure of the five Pandavas through the country of Banga towards the rising sun and their final disappearance in the Himalaya, if it be allowed to have any meaning at all, must be typical of a Rajpoot emigration eastwards to Oude, Behár and Telingána, where a more oriental position would naturally suggest the title of Surajbunsee in preference to that of Chunderbunsee.

The Tagas of the Upper Doab, who are identical with the Bháinhárs of Benares and Ghazee-pore, and whose settlements will be almost invariably found to have been made under the wing of the Rajpoots, imitate the Saharunpore Poondeers in referring their origin to the far East, but, like those of Etah, allude to an ebb and flow of population under the influence of contact with aliens. Parikshit, Arjun's grandson, having died by the bite of a snake (Nágá), at Sukertal on the right bank of the Ganges in the Mozuffernugger district, his son, Rájá Janamejaya, resolved to expiate his father's death by extirpating the obnoxious race in

* The literal meaning of the word Bogsás is "sorcerer." See Batten's report on the Bhábur

† The Brahminical account of this is, that the Pandavas passed through the Doon, penetrated into the Himalayas, and immolated themselves at Mahá Panth, a peak behind Kidár—a palpable invention designed to associate comparatively modern shrines with venerable national traditions. The whole of Saharunpore and Mozuffernugger teems with reminiscences of the Mahabhárata. Deobund or Deves Bun, the grove sacred to Deves, is one of the places where the Pandavas tarried during their twelve years' exile. The Tuláh Soorá fair, once extremely popular, is annually held in memory of the preliminary operations ending in the decisive struggle at Kurukshetr. The Pandavas at first intending to deliver battle on this side of the Jumna, halted at Bhácoopoor close to the town of Saharunpore, and

Bheema proceeded to have a tank dug for the purpose of providing the army with water, but an image of the cow Soora was exhumed during its excavation. Unwilling therefore to shed blood on the spot, they marched westward. The foundation of Nukoor, an alleged corruption of Nakur or Nukul, is attributed to the hero Nukul, Subadev's brother. The town of Jasmore in the south-eastern corner of the Mozuffernugger district likewise stands on classic ground, for its founder was the old king Dhritárashttra, called Jusrut in the modern vernacular, and its glories are commemorated in the dog-grel :
"Jusrat ká Jasmore"
"Bijey ká Bijnore."

The two strongholds being situated opposite to one another on the ridges overlooking the trough of the Ganges, the towers of the one are supposed to have been visible from those of the other.

one general holocaust. The presence of two pure Brahmans, an apparently rare commodity at the period, was essential to the efficacy of the sacrifice. Now the Levites of Gaur * in Lower Bengal, anxious to avoid a disagreeable duty and yet afraid of offending the monarch, deputed two boys to officiate, charging them to abstain from accepting any remuneration for their services. They consequently declined to receive the presents offered them, but the king determined not to put himself under an obligation. So he had deeds conveying certain lands to the young Brahmans and their heirs for ever rolled up in the betel presented to them at their departure. On the road back they discovered the trick, which compelled them to abandon their own profession (whence the name Taga, from तग्न "abandon") and betake themselves to agriculture. The town of Jânsuth, now a Seyud colony, was included in their estates. This hackneyed tradition is current throughout the length and breadth of the North-West Provinces. A well-known descendant of the recipients of Janamejaya's bounty is H. H. Ishree Pershâd, the Bhoinhâr Maharâjâ of Benares. They were also the progenitors of the various Taga clans scattered over the Doâb north of Delhi, most of whom, notwithstanding their anxiety to establish an ancient connection with Gaur in Bengal, say that their forefathers came directly from the country west of the Jumna, following in the train of their Rajpoot patrons, notably the Neemtân Tagas of Churthavul in Mozuffernugger, whose last resting place before settling permanently between the Ganges and Jumna was the Pâe Poondree of the Poondeers (730 S.). A striking point in the myth of the serpent sacrifice is the pardon of Bâsukee, the Nâgâ King of Pâtala, Arjun's father-in-law, and of Tukshuk, at the intercession of the Brahman Astiku, himself the latter's nephew, an incident denoting occasional friendly intercourse between the antagonistic races, a fact which would at once explain the presence of such names as Nâg Arjun and Ram Nâgâ in the genealogy of a tribe priding itself in an unsullied Aryan descent. The Brahmans, on the other hand, assert, that the line of Parikshit maintained its original purity until the assassination of Kshemuk, Khemrâj or Khevanraj, the twenty-eighth king of Indraprastha, about 600 B.C., † an event placed by them at the commencement of the Kâl Yug, a period, in their parlance, marking the ascendancy of Buddhism under the protection of Mahânund of Canouj. It was, in fact, that of the Indo-Scythian supremacy. At length (71 B. C.), the last King, Râjpal, lost his life in battle with Shukuditya or Sukwanti, King of Kumaon, who may be

* One authority says, with much greater show of reason, Cashmere Appendix, p. 32, † Tod's *Rajasthan* vol. i, p. 45, Vide *Census Report* of 1865, vol. i. Table ii.

safely identified with Shuktee Pál, Raja of Gurhwál,* and "the sons of Himáchul," a Scythian horde, seized upon the capital. Vikram the Great succeeded in repulsing the invaders for a time (57 B. C.), but he succumbed to the prowess of the Saka Saliváhana, and henceforth, according to the Ráj Tarangini, "princes from the Sewálíks or northern hills, held Delhi," till they in turn were ousted by the Tuars. The local appellation of the intruders is "Mulekchee" (Mlechcha), which endorses Prinsep's opinion that the 'Mlechchas of the Indus' were Indo-Scythians.† Among them may be reckoned, (besides the Goojurs, who are so numerous in Saharunpore that a large portion of the district is called Gujerát in contradistinction to the Rotálá), the Játs, some of whom ‡ cherish traditions of an immigration from Gurh Gujnee, apparently Ghuznee in Afghanistan, not far from the confines of Gundhârâ, an appanage of Kanishka, the Tartar Prince who introduced Buddhism into Cashmere under an hierarch named Nagarjun, possibly the prototype of, if not actually identical with, the Nagarjun of the Etah Poondeers. Now it is remarkable that, while the ethnological relationship of the Játs and Goojurs may be presumed, *firstly*, from their being invariably found in juxtaposition from the banks of the Indus to those of the Ganges; *secondly*, from their observance of the practice of *kurao*, that is to say, marriage with a deceased brother's wife; *thirdly*, from the nature of their claim to Aryan parentage, namely, that they are Rajpoots whose ancestors lost caste in consequence of adopting the said custom, and, *fourthly*, from their both being regarded in exactly the same light by the Rajpoots, who do not acknowledge any material difference between them; coins, of the Kanishka or Kanerkos series have been discovered at Behut near the foot of the Sewálíks, under circumstances of peculiar interest, for it can hardly be an accidental coincidence that, the foundation of the Gurhwál dynasty being generally attributed to Kunuk of Dhârâ-nugger in Saurashtra (Gujerát), the ancient home of the Khooburs, the emigration of a Kunuksain, identified with Kanerkos, from Khoshala-desha to Gujarát is also on record,§ and that the Souráshtra coins are linked with the Behut group by a common symbol, the *Chaityá*, the title of Sáh being likewise common to the Gurhwál and Sourashtra dynasties. It does not therefore appear unreasonable to refer the advent of the Goojurs and Játs to the period of the invasion signalled in the Ráj Tarangini and to connect a part at least of Cautley's discoveries at Behut with the same event. A different series of coins, some specimens of which have been found

* *Memoir of Dehra Doon*, p. 84, cf. *Tod*, vol. i. pp. 61-105.

† *Antiquities*, p. 397, vol. i.

‡ e. g. the Gunthwál or Gunth-

wárâ Játs, who have a Baonee south-east of Shamlee.

§ *Antiquities ut supra*, pp. 253-283 cf p. 84, &c.

at Hurdwár itself, bearing the impression of a hill-goat on one side and of a warrior on the other,* probably found their way into Saharanpore together with those of the Kanerki mint.

The restoration of Indraprastha in 792 A. D.† is ascribed to the Tuars, whose relationship with the Poondeers is preserved in the Etah genealogy. The date here given contradicts the oral history of the Rajpoot anabasis to Hurdwár by a hundred years, and, as might be expected, the Brahmans have another version of the story.

After the pure Hindoo dynasties had melted away before the race of Sisunāg, Sakya Sinh Gautum propagated the religion of Budh without let or hindrance, until it reached its acme in the reign of Māhanund. At last the Brahmans, determined to restore the true faith, created four new tribes of genuine Kshatryas from a pond of fire on the summit of Mount Aboo, the Pāmars, the Chouhans, the Solunkies and the Purihars (359 ante Vikram.) The fire-born warriors nobly fulfilled their mission and completely extirpated the Buddhists by the eighth century after Vikram. Meanwhile, in the fifth century, an Andhrabunsee Rájá, Pulomarchee by name, came to bathe at Hurdwár with a large retinue of Rajpoot Sirdárs. He was, of course, delighted with Máyápoor, having never before beheld so fertile a soil and such beautiful scenery, and was charmed with the meek devotional character of the inhabitants. He therefore entrusted the place to the keeping of one of his Poondeer chieftains, whose descendants, as we have seen, eventually occupied a large portion of the province. Pulomarchee then ascended the throne of Delhi and extended his sway to the confines of China. This potentate was king of Andhra or Telingána, and is supposed to have been contemporary with Shunker Acharj. He is also dubbed Pulom, a name recalling Tod's Beelun Deo, ‡ the Thákur crowned King of Delhi in 772 A. D., under the name of Anungpal, who, like Pulomarchee, became terrible even to the "Lords of Seemar" (the Snowy range). Perhaps Pulom and Beelan Deo are one and the same, but Pulom looks suspiciously like Polomun or Polomen, the Chinese for a Brahman. Professor Wilson has expressed the opinion that Shunker Acharj "flourished, in all likelihood, in the eighth or ninth century," § which, if correct, would make him contemporary with this monarch.

There is reason to believe that the Poondeer colony, said to have been planted by him under the Sewális, formed a part of the famous Dahima tribe whose supposed disappearance is lamented by Tod,|| for Dheer, the guardian of the Lahore

* Vide, *Prinsep's Antiquities*, pl. vii, fig 4.

† *Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 51, note

‡ *Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 255.

§ *Vishnu Purana*, Preface ix-x.

|| *Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 119 seq.

frontier under Prithiráj; who repulsed Shaháb-ud-Deen Ghoree's forces seven times (!), belonged to that stock and also bore the title of Poondeer. The defeat and death of the Chowhán King are ascribed to the hero's absence at Hurdwár during the campaign that ended in the capture of Delhi. Chánd Rae, the Khandirai of the Mahommedan historians, was his brother.

The Jounalapore branch of the family seceded from Hindooism in the reign of Mahomed Toghluq, shortly after the foundation of Saharanpore by the same Emperor. This result is attributed to the influence of a missionary rejoicing in the sonorous appellation of Shah Mukdood Jubanyán Jehángusht. The wife of Rájá Dhunee Chund, descendant of Jalup's, was barren, but the pious Sheikh demonstrated the efficacy of prayer to the one God by working a miracle, in consequence of which she bore her husband two sons, Bhopál and Mán Singh. The saint happened to be absent, pursuing his avocations in another province, during the lady's confinement, but, being intuitively aware of the event, speedily returned and asked to see the children. Dhunee Chund hid the elder and produced the younger. The holy man, however, demanded the former, Bhopál, as an offering to the true faith, and had him circumcised under the name of Rao Jumál-ud-Deen (12th Sudee Asauj, 1401 S.) The convert's descendants spread to Gurh Suleempore, Sekrowdah and Kheree along the crest of the highlands running parallel with the Sewálik hills from the Ganges to the Mohun Pass, twenty-eight miles north of Saharanpore.

At the close of the same century Hurdwár received a terrible visitation, which cannot be properly described without another digression.* On the 1st January 1399, Tamarlane's army crossed the Jumna, after the sack of Delhi, laden with booty, and encamped at the village of Mundowlah,† four miles beyond Lonee, in the Meerut district. The Tartars next encamped at Kátah, then at Baghput, and, reaching Suráee, a village some ten miles east of Baghput, on the road to Meerut, by the 9th January, halted, while several of the principal officers hastened forward to Meerut itself, expecting that the garrison would gladly capitulate. They were mistaken, for the Afghán Kotwál, Eleias, bade them defiance. This sealed the fate of Meerut and of the whole province. No sooner did Teimour receive intelligence of the Kotwál's presumption than he set out with the flower of his cavalry, 10,000 strong, and appeared before the walls of the devoted town, on the forenoon of the 7th. On the following day

* The principal authority used in what follows is the *Tozak-i-Taimouree*. See also Price's *Mahommedan Historians*, iii-i 257 seq., and

Dowson, iii-450 seq.

† The Mundowlah of the G. T. S. Map.

the place was taken by storm, and Sleeman is responsible for the statement that all the Hindoo inhabitants were flayed alive.* The older authorities merely mention that the garrison and infidel non-combatants were butchered in cold blood.

This success suggested to Teimour the idea of extending his investigations further north. He split his army into three divisions; the first, under the command of Ameer Jehán Sháh, was to march up the left bank of the Jumna; the second, under that of Sheikh Noor-ud-Deen, who had charge of the heavy baggage, was to follow the course of the Kalee Nuddee; while the third, under the direction of the Commander-in-Chief himself, guided by the river Ganges, kept pace with the two former. The evening after the fall of Meerut, the third division encamped at the village of Musoorce,† ten miles north-east of that unfortunate town, and reached Ferozepore on the right bank of the Boodhée Gunga, six miles north of Hustinapore, the day after (9th January). Here Ameer Sulimán Sháh and Peer Mohammed forded the river with a detachment, the main body continuing its progress and halting a few miles higher up, when Seyud Khwájáh, Sheikh Alee Baháder and Jehán Malik were sent with reinforcements to the support of the commanders who had already crossed over. Teimour himself was with difficulty dissuaded from joining them. On the morning of the 10th January he continued his march towards Toghlukspoor, a village in the Poor Chupár Pergunnah of the Mozuffernugger district, situated on the right bank of what is now the Soldnee, a stream which issues from the Mohun Pass, and, after receiving the drainage of the triangular tract lying between it, the Sewálkis and the Ganges, discharges itself into that river near Sukertál. The lower part of its present course must have been then occupied by an old branch of the Ganges, the same apparently crossed by Ameer Sulimán Sháh lower down. This is clear from the context.

On the way to Toghlukspoor, news was brought that the enemy had collected in great force in the *Khádír*, and, while Mubáshir Baháder and Alee Sultán Tuwathee were reconnoitering with five thousand horse, it was announced that a fleet of boats fully equipped for battle and manned by unbelievers was coming down the river. Teimour happened at the moment to be troubled with the chronic swelling in his knee, to which he owes his popular nickname, Tamerlane or Tamerlang, but, in spite of the infirmity, he jumped on horseback, and galloped forward to meet the presumptuous infidels with a body-guard of one thousand

* *Rambles and Recollections* vol. ii. p. 196. go factory; the Munsoorah or Mansúra of the books.

† The site of a well-known indi-

picked men. The action commenced with continual discharges of arrows from both sides, and the archery of the Hindoos does not seem to have been inferior to that of their opponents. The troopers consequently dashed into the water, and, coming to close quarters, boarded the boats, whose crews were soon *sent to hell*, as the royal autobiographer grimly puts it. The prospect before them would account for the desperation with which some of them are said to have fought.

This naval combat must have been a very poor affair, because the stream can have been navigable to none but the very smallest craft, such as rafts, manned perhaps by Goojurs and Rajpoots from the Saharanpore and Mozuffernugger borders; possibly, a detachment from the army of Mubárik Khán, an imperial general posted on the far side of the river.

It took place a few miles south of Toghluhpore, where Teimour made another short halt, sending on Ameer Allahdád with two other officers to look for a ford and obtain information about the enemy's movements. During the night, Allahdád sent word that he had discovered a ford, made his way across, and found a large force of Hindoos rallied round Mubárik Khán's standard. Tamerlane determined to give them no breathing time, started with his body-guard about midnight by torchlight leaving the rest of his troops to follow more leisurely, and, reaching the ford before daylight, immediately crossed the river, which, being that flowing past Toghluhpore, cannot have been the Ganges proper, as is invariably stated, but must have been either an old branch of the Ganges, which has since dwindled away and become lost in the Solanee, or the Solanee itself. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the stream forded by Ameer Sulimán Sháh and Peer Mahommed in front of Ferozepoor was not the true Ganges but a branch of it, the Budhee Gunga, whose channel has not yet completely dried up, and the probability of whose ancient connection with the Solanee is strengthened by the existence of a chain of swamps (*jheels*), running directly between the two along the south-eastern border of the Mozuffernugger district. If these two points, as well as another that will be presently noticed, be kept steadily in view, all the difficulties hitherto existing about the topography of Teimour's campaign in the Upper Doáb will at once melt away.

On the morning of the 11th January Tamerlane, with only 1,000 men, suddenly finding himself opposed to Mubárik Khán with 10,000, devoutly said his prayers, in answer to which Seyud Khwajah and Jehan Malik providentially appeared at the head of 5,000 horse. This good omen dictated speedy action. Shah Malik and Allahdád led 1,000 cavaliers to the charge. The enemy did not abide the result. They fled panic-stricken without attempting any resistance, and were mercilessly pursued, until

the survivors found refuge in the intricacies of the surrounding jungle. Ample booty in 'women, children, cows and buffaloes' fell into the hands of the Tartars. The action probably took place on the borders of the Puthree Nuddee forest, a tract intersected with ravines and swamps, which might have been supposed to be comparatively safe from intrusion.

Teimour now marched for the valley of the Ganges Proper,* in the direction of Hurdwár, then called Kowpileh, hearing that there was a prospect of more plunder on the road, where a great crowd of Hindoos had assembled in a strong position not far from the river. Pressing onwards with 500 troopers, while the rest secured the spoil, he swept down upon these wretched people, in all human probability, villagers who had sought the protection of some mud fort on the edge of the *Khádír* below Bhojepore. A ruthless massacre followed, in which Ameer Sháh Mchik and Alee Sultán Tawátchee especially distinguished themselves. After the butchery was over, the Moghuls being now for the most part employed in the equally congenial occupation of collecting and packing up the plunder, an incident occurred that nearly cost the tyrant his life. Malik Sheikhá, an Indian chief of great stature and courage, having rallied a few staunch followers, made a dash at him in the vain hope of ridding the world of the monster. Favoured by his resemblance to Sheikhá Goguree, one of Teimour's own vassals, he might have succeeded in his design, had not the premature vehemence with which he laid about him on all sides undeceived the Tartars, who brought him to the ground with an arrow sticking in his belly and his skull cleft in twain. He was then bound hand and foot, and laid by the head and heels before the conqueror, who straightway commenced propounding questions to him. He expired during the process of examination.

Although Teimour, then sixty-three years of age, had endured the fatigue of a long march and two fights, after a sleepless night, fresh intelligence rendered him equal to further exertions. Another assemblage of the sacred inhabitants had collected for mutual protection some three or four miles further on, still in the "valley of Kowpileh," and the prospect of exterminating them urged him forward. The road lay over difficult, broken ground, encumbered with thick jungle, and his immediate followers had dwindled down to a mere handful of men, so that he could not help regretting the absence of Peer Mahommed and Ameer Sulimán Sháh, who, we have seen, had separated from him three days before. Strange to say, they suddenly appeared in the very nick of time to take part in the enterprise, which had

the usual monotonous result. Thanks were then solemnly offered up to the Almighty for all these mercies, and the whole army encamped upon the scene of the second encounter, there being no other place at hand where the tents could be pitched.

The fact that the second and third battle-fields are both placed in the "darah Kowpileh," or "the valley of Hurdwár," is consistent with the definition of Máyápooree Kshetr given in a former paper*. The sacred precinct extends eighteen *koss* (the short local *koss* of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) south of Hurdwár. The writer of the *Tozuk-i-Teimoor* doubtless heard the term Kowpileh applied widely, and used it accordingly. My conclusion therefore is, that, on the night of the 11th January 1399, the Moghul camp was pitched close to the southern border of the hallowed tract, for the locality answering to the description of the holy town itself is said to have been fifteen *koss* beyond the encampment, which Price imagines to have been "at no great distance from Láldháng," in the extreme north of the Bijnour district, a conjecture so palpably improbable that it need not be discussed.

The Imperial Journal thus continues:—Fifteen *koss* higher up the river, again in the defile of Kowpileh, stood the image of a cow cut out of the solid rock, whose mouth was the source of the Ganges. People went thither on pilgrimages from all quarters, performed their ablutions, got shaved, offered up prayers, and distributed alms to ensure their salvation in the next world. Price† warns us against confounding the place here described with Gungootree, but erroneously concludes that it was Deoprág. It is now generally admitted to have been Hurdwár. The Moghuls left Meerut on the 8th, and it was no extraordinary performance to reach Hurdwár by the 12th, the date of their arrival at the reputed source of the Ganges; on the other hand, to lead an army to Deoprág in five days would be practically as much out of the question as to march to Gungootree in the same space of time.

The alleged position of the "Cow's Mouth" at the end of the fourteenth century tends to show that the Sub-Himalayan range then sheltered the *Ultima Thule* of Hindoo superstition, which has since receded into the very bosom of the hills, unless, indeed, we suppose that a Mahomedan fanatic, careless about profane mythology, hastily confounded the *débouché* of the Ganges on the plains with its actual source. A comparison, however, of the marches given in Teimour's memoirs with any good map will

* *Calcutta Review*, No. cxvi. p. 195.

† He seems to think that Teimour, having left Toghlukpore on the night of the 10th January and crossed the

Ganges, reached Hurdwár the next day, encamped at Láldháng east of Hurdwár the evening after, and reached Deoprág the day following.

show that the writer, whether the savage monarch himself or one of his admirers, has been wonderfully precise and accurate in the matter of distances.

Price's rendering of the passage from the Roozut-u'-Sufa descriptive of the Brahminical town, is extremely quaint and worth reproducing :—"The sacred spot was the resort of numerous pilgrims from the remotest limits of this quarter of the Asiatic continent. Such, in short, is described to have been the blind stupidity of these uninstructed idolaters, that, although common sense and experience might have generally taught them that nothing good was to be expected from a mass of inert and insensate matter, they were, nevertheless, induced to bring the ashes of their dead from places most remote, and to commit them on this spot to the hallowed stream ; accompanied by the richest oblations in gold and silver, as the surest means of averting present evil and of securing the highest gradations in a future state. Lastly, these simple enthusiasts conceived their devotions consummated in performing their ablutions, leg-deep, in the stream ; casting its sacred waters over their heads, and shaving their heads and beards, before they quitted this scene of superstitious folly and puerility."

The Tartar reformer, learning the degraded moral condition of these miserable devotees, and moreover, that they had assembled in great numbers with an immense quantity of goods and chattels that might be converted to some useful purpose, resolved to bring his crescentade to an appropriate conclusion by killing, if he could not cure, them. The season happened to be peculiarly auspicious. A *Kumbh*-fair* was not far off, and in *Kumbh* years crowds of pilgrims come and go to and from Hurdwâr, for many weeks before the great gathering, so that the profits anticipated from the venture were out of all comparison with its danger. In those days, the Hindoos were either fired with remarkable religious zeal, or had an extraordinary capacity for receiving punishment. Their recent experiences ought to have dictated flight to the fastnesses of the hills, but, instead of flying, they appear to have calmly awaited the invaders with a bold front. Their confidence may have been in a great measure derived from the strength of their position, a narrow defile, with a river on their left and a mountain chain on their right flank, only approachable by an ascent from the plains, steep enough to have given them a decided advantage, had they been in other respects on a par with their antagonists, who, setting out at early dawn, can

* The Saharanpore district was invaded in 1399, and the last *Kumbh* fair was in 1867. The fortieth before it consequently took place in the former year.

hardly have arrived at Hurdwâr before the afternoon of the 12th.

The apparent resolution of the enemy rendered Teimour more cautious than he had hitherto been, and he made a very careful disposition of his forces. He entrusted the right wing to Prince Peer Mahommed and Ameer Sulimán Sháh, the left to other leaders of inferior note, keeping the centre under his own immediate orders. Ameer Sháh Malik led the van. The host advanced with fierce war-cries accompanied by a hideous clashing of cymbals and rattling of kettle-drums, well calculated to inspire the enemy with dismay, but they bravely withstood the first charge. A second was more successful. The Hindoo ranks broke, the Moghul cavalry rode in among them, hewing right and left, and the fight degenerated into a sickening massacre. No quarter was given, and none escaped except those who managed to slink away into the recesses of the Sewálíks. An incalculable amount of booty rewarded the victory, and the satisfaction of the conqueror was intensified by a complacent conviction that the souls of his victims had been at length consigned to the eternal punishment appropriated by the believer to the invincible ignorance of the unbeliever in every age.*

Such an unvaried series of successes began to pall even upon the coarse taste of the insatiable Tamerlane, who consequently resolved to make a retrograde movement. He therefore said his prayers, and, leading his army five (?) *koss* south of Hurdwâr, encamped upon the right bank of the Ganges.† On the 13th he resumed his progress, marching several miles in a north-westerly direction so as to meet the heavy baggage, which was at no great distance in front. He now learned that a vast multitude had assembled, with hostile intent, in one of the Sewálík passes, under the command of a powerful chief, Râe Behroz, presumably a Rajpoot, to judge from his title of Râe, most probably one of the old Poondeer stock, because he is particularly mentioned by the Muhammadan historians as a local potentate. Be this as it may, he seems to have been the most formidable antagonist the Moghuls had yet encountered, a foe well worthy of their steel; a fact due to the general law that the strength of individual chieftains bears a direct ratio to the weakness of the supreme power. Tamerlane made preparations accordingly. He effected a junction with the second division at the foot of the hills, after another short march of five *koss* (14th January), and recalled the

* In plain English, "they were sent to hell."

† This, I apprehend, is the real meaning of the words *ابان اب فرود آمد* *ibân ab furud amad*, not, that "he re-crossed the Ganges,"

and, assuming the above rendering to be correct, it becomes unnecessary to discuss the difficulty presented by the supposition that Hurdwâr was then situated on the opposite side of the river.

first under Ameer Jehán Sháh, suspending operations during the concentration of his forces. The ferocity of the Moghuls was evidently tempered with prudence, for the Ameers attempted in vain to dissuade Teimour from coming to close quarters with the enemy, whose position placed them at a great disadvantage, rendering the employment of cavalry impossible. Conscious of the danger of leaving behind him an unbroken force, which might hang on the rear of his army and harass its retreat, ultimately perhaps embolden the people to rise *en masse* against the invaders, he remained resolute and calmly awaited the arrival of Ameer Jehán Sháh, thus giving his men three days' rest. By the 17th January his arrangements were complete, and on that day he advanced to the pass where Rájá Behroz bade him defiance.

The Moghuls were here compelled to abandon the advantage derived from their equestrian skill, which had constituted the chief element of their superiority over the Hindoos in every previous encounter. Old Tamerlane himself was the first to set the rest a good example by dismounting; and, like him, his generals all led their men forward on foot. Standing at the entrance of the defile, he directed a simultaneous attack from three different points. Peer Mahommed and Sulmán Sháh commanded the right wing, Mirza Sultán Hussain and Ameer Jehán Sháh the left, Sheikh Noor-ud-Deen and Sháh Malik the advanced guard of the centre. It is unnecessary to enter into the monotonous details of the sanguinary conflict that ensued. Suffice it to say, that, although the infidels were, as a matter of course, at length overpowered, the battle does not appear to have been one of those one-sided butcheries dignified with the ill-merited title of victories by the somewhat partial author of Teimour's Memoirs, and we learn with satisfaction that, on this occasion at least, blood was freely shed on both sides. Such a wealth of booty in treasure, cattle and other property as was found in the Hindoo camp after the engagement had never been seen before. Its magnitude may be judged from the fact that many of the stoutest soldiers appropriated from three to four hundred head of cattle each, to the detriment of their weaker comrades, which necessitated a re-distribution of the spoil. The enormous amount of live-stock accumulated in the stronghold illustrates the severe nature of the calamity that had befallen the country, more vividly than the longest list of killed and wounded. The miserable inhabitants of the villages in the plains had fled thither, driving their flocks and herds before them, trusting vainly to the apparent inaccessibility of the Sewálík hills and the valour of their Rájá for protection against the inexorable foe of the Hindoo race. The remains of the rude forts used as cities of refuge by the people

in those days of bloodshed and disaster may be still distinguished here and there along the spurs of the Sewálíks.*

The information given in the Tozuk-i-Teimouree about Rájá Behroz is most tantalizing, being just sufficient to excite the curiosity of the reader without affording any definite idea of the chieftain's personality. We are merely told that he was "Governor" (*hákím*) of the province and opposed the Tartars with the help of the Raes or Ráos; but since the term Rao is peculiar to the Saharanpore Rajpoots, and gives a name to a large portion of the district, the Rotálá, it is not unreasonable to infer that he was the Ráná, the leader of the clan whose legendary history has been related in connection with the immediate subject of this paper, and there is a tradition that the Poondeers narrowly escaped extermination during Teimóur's invasion. The scene of his defeat is even more doubtful than his identity, because the length and direction of the marches from Hurdwár to the defile where the great battle was fought are not noted with the autobiographer's usual precision. In my opinion, the Mohun Pass (Lal Durwázá), a gorge piercing the Sewálíks at a point nearly equidistant from the Ganges and Jumna, and marking the northern extremity of the Rotálá, has the strongest claim to be identified with it. Its entrance affords a better site for a large temporary encampment than any other part of the range, fugitives converging to one place for mutual protection would naturally select the most central point as a rendezvous, and my view is supported by the length of time occupied in marching from this last battle-field to the Jumna, about three and a half days. The first town mentioned during the retreat is Behrah Tuwáyá, which must be Tuwáyá near Behrah, nineteen miles south-west of Mohun on the direct line of march to Saharanpore. Some readings give "Behrah Tuwáyá in the Myapoor district," others "Behrah Tuwáyá in the Sárpoor district." Myapore was, it is true, a well-known name of pretty wide application long before Saharanpore was ever heard of. Still I believe Saharanpore to

* See the description of the *wulsa* of Southern India given in Colonel Wilks' *Historical Sketches*, vol. i., p. 309, note, which applies exactly to the case in point:—"On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbersome effects, and each individual, man, woman and child above six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers), with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from

their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found) exempt from the miseries of war; sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence till the departure of the enemy." This custom struck the observant Baber forcibly. See translation of his *Memoirs* by Leyden and Erskine, p. 315, from which I have extracted the above quotation.

be the correct reading, because, when written in the Persian running hand, there is hardly any perceptible difference between it and "Sárpoor;" and the next march (19th) of four *koss* must have brought Teimour either to, or right through, that town, then too insignificant a place to merit special notice. On the following day the army halted at Kundah close to Sirsáwah, and re-crossed the Jumna on the 21st January, carrying away with it an incalculable accumulation of spoil and the bitter curses of those who survived its coming. So crushing was the effect of this terrible incursion, that it has bequeathed little or nothing to the folk-lore of a highly imaginative people beyond a vague tendency among apostates to Mahomedanism to attribute the conversion of their ancestors to the persuasive eloquence of "Tipperlang." But that grim potentate busied himself rather with the destruction of the body than the salvation of the soul, and could an eye-witness rise from the dead to describe the deeds of the invaders, his words would be those of the fugitive from Bukhárá, after its capture by Chengecz Khán,—*"they came—they exfoliated—they bound—they massacred—and they consumed."**

(To be continued.)

G. R. C. WILLIAMS, B. C. S. *

ART. IV.—RECOLLECTIONS OF SERVIA. (*Independent
Section.*)

IT was in the year 1863 that, as the summer vacation—(one of those pleasant things we leave behind us when we come to India)—was drawing near, a friend of mine asked me, if I would come with him to Servia. At that time I was as ignorant of Servia as probably most people were before the outbreak of the present war. Servia seemed to my mind (by way of contrast, I suppose) to be connected with Liberia, and the name carried me at once, in imagination, to Africa. However, my friend soon enlightened my ignorance. He offered me Ranke's "History of Servia," and an account of it written by the Rev. W. Denton; and found no difficulty in persuading me to go to the country. The fact of its being almost unknown, and unvisited from England, gave it a special interest, and my friend procured for our benefit some letters of introduction, which are always so useful when one travels beyond the range of "Murray" and "Baedaker," and Anglicised hotels. Two other friends joined us, so that we started a company of four.

From Vienna to Pesth we went by rail, and there took steamer to Belgrade. As soon as we landed, we found that a gentleman, to whom we had an introduction, being absent from Belgrade himself, but expecting our arrival, had left orders for us to be brought to his rooms, which he kindly placed at our disposal during our stay in the capital. They were in the principal hotel, so that there was no difficulty about our meals. However, our first meal in the public dining-room was our last, for, from the very first afternoon of our arrival till the night of our departure, we found ourselves taken possession of by a hospitality which was as agreeable and irresistible as it was unexpected. We at once found that names before unheard of by us, or if heard of, scarce to be pronounced or remembered, were transformed into living friends. This simple, unsophisticated, and forcible demonstration of friendship soon did away with our scruples lest we should be intruding on their kindness, and we felt more at home than we had done since we left England. The same hospitality, which we met with at Belgrade, never failed us in our travel in the interior of the country. On the contrary, it was rather intensified. The fact that we were Englishmen was in itself sufficient recommendation; for, whatever may have been the policy of our Government towards Turkey, the name of England fortunately can never be discovered from the cause of freedom. But, in addition to this, when we had planned our route, our friends at Belgrade sent word beforehand that we were coming, so that

we were able at every stage to find friends ready to welcome us, to give us all we needed, and to show us everything that we desired to see. It was only when we forsook the route planned out, that we had any occasion to put up at an inn.

The language, of course, was a difficulty to us. Servian is a Slavonic tongue, very like to the Russian, but none of our party knew anything of the Slavonian languages. French helped us a little, but German much more, and with the learned clergy we could always fall back on Latin. Most fortunately, too, a German Lutheran pastor, who lived in Belgrade, looking after a little congregation of Germans, accompanied us in our travels, so that we always had an interpreter. He knew English excellently, and Servian as well, and we found him a most kind and agreeable as well as useful companion.

Our mode of travelling was in two small waggons, each drawn by a pair of small, strong horses, well suited for the work. Altogether our party numbered six and a boy, besides the drivers, for we obtained through the kindness of friends a sort of official guide, guard, dragoman, or servant, who went by the name of Pandour, and who, by his magnificent costume, added as much to the picturesqueness of the party, as by his readiness and attention he did to our comfort. A good part of our journey was made on *pukka* roads, for the Servian *rađ* is like the English in opening up the country by means of road and telegraph. Sometimes, however, we forsook it for some mere track through one of those forests of great trees which are so conspicuous a part of Servian scenery. Sometimes we climbed some mountain path, so narrow that we wondered what would be the result of meeting any other vehicle on the road. The great variety of scenery in so small a country reminded us of England.

Since so great interest in Servia is naturally excited at the present time, I will try and write down the impressions which I carried away from it. To obtain a really good knowledge of a country from a month's stay in it, is of course impossible; but as few Englishmen have up to the present time visited it at all, and there is in consequence more speculation than real knowledge of the subject current among us, I think I shall not be suspected of presumption in penning my first-sight impressions of the country. Moreover, as I am not propounding any very profound views of her situation, or attempting any very accurate measurement of what I describe, I think I may hope to keep out of any serious error in the matter. I am only giving a broad and general view of the country, which, I venture to think, will be found true in the main, although of necessity it is defective in omitting the consideration of various matters, which a prolonged residence among the people might have brought to my notice.

The first impression which I carried away with me, was of the social order, and prosperity of the people. The mass of the inhabitants are independent yeomanry, cultivating their own soil, the very stuff out of which great nations are formed. Poverty and crime seemed almost unknown. What a contrast to the rest of Belgrade was the Turkish quarter! At the present time, I suppose, this contrast does not exist, for I imagine there is now no Turkish quarter. But at the time of my visit the fortress of Belgrade was garrisoned by the Turks, as well as the other principal fortresses of Servia. As since that time they have withdrawn, probably the Turkish population has gone with them. If so, all lovers of cleanliness will rejoice.

The simple, innocent life of the people might seem dull and stagnant to a Western mind, but it is no small thing to find a whole population thriving, contented, and uncontaminated by vice. What the statistics of crime are in Servia, I cannot say, but I believe that they are extremely low. Of course, on the frontier there is some robbery. English magistrates in India know the impediments to justice which the boundary line of a neighbouring country presents, even if that country is only one of our feudal native States. It is not difficult to understand how much greater the impediments would be to Servian justice on the confines of the country of their old enemy, the Turks. As for the morality of the people, what we were told about it by the clergy would seem incredible, did we not know from the experience of some similarly situated countries, what wonderful power the Christian religion has shown in promoting purity of life, under the favourable circumstances of a people untainted by luxury, and without the evil influences of crowded city life, or of the enforced celibacy of large armies. In Belgrade, which is the capital of Servia, there are only, I believe, 20,000 inhabitants, whilst there is scarce any standing army; the whole population, capable of bearing arms, forming a sort of militia, liable to be called to war, as in the present emergency. In all the schools religion is taught as a matter of course, and if the Eastern Church does not affect so much knowledge as we Christians of the West, perhaps they know better the little they do learn. A good knowledge of the Ten Commandments, and of the duties and privileges of a Christian, may serve to carry them through the temptations of life, even without an accurate knowledge of the Kings of Judah and Israel, or of the controversies between Protestants and Roman Catholics.

The next thing I must mention is the patriotism of the Servians. It is no strange thing that this should be, as I believe it is, both wide-spread and intense. In the first place they have an historical name. They were once the centre of a large empire, which long withstood the attacks of the Turks. It appears to be the case

that they were victims of the intrigues of the Court of Rome ; and that when the Servian Empire fell, there was no barrier to keep back the Turks from advancing even to the walls of Vienna. St. Saba, a hero, or saint of that period, is the national patron of Servia, and his picture meets one everywhere.

But not only have they an ancient history, to which they may look back with mingled feelings of pride and regret, but they have also in the present century written for themselves a page of history, which must afford them greater encouragement than any of their more ancient glories. After having been for centuries the slaves of the Turks, it was no small valour which enabled this little country of peasants to rise, without arms, training, organization, or officers, and engage in that deadly struggle which ended in their liberation from the yoke of the Turks. Is it credible that the children and grandchildren of these heroes will again be brought under the yoke of the Turks ? Is it surprising that they aspire to form a modern Servian Empire, in which the glories of the ancient one may be re-produced ? Is it wonderful that sympathy, ambition, and self-preservation alike animate them to a war with Turkey on behalf of their oppressed brethren, and that they feel that they can never rest until the great population of Slavonic Christians in the northern part of the Turkish Empire receive their freedom ?

The choicest wine produced in Servia is called *Negotin*, and a remarkable custom exists with regard to it. When a bottle is opened, the question is asked "What is this ?" The opener replies, "Turk's blood." The answer comes, "Then let it flow." Probably it is impossible for us to conceive the deep hatred to the Turks which inspires the Servian nation. Generated by centuries of cruelty inflicted on their ancestors, and kept alive by the knowledge of the continual ill-treatment of those of their fellow Christians who are still under the Turkish rule, it is the frequent topic of their conversation, and the burden of many a fire-side song. Whether it is in harmony with the truest spirit of Christianity to retain their hatred, is not the question, but none can deny that it is a natural feeling. Indeed, so far as it is a noble determination not to rest until the Turks are driven out of Europe, it is as much to be commended as any other efforts after justice and peace. The Turkish Government is nothing else but organised injustice and cruelty, and if it is the duty of Christians to put down robbery and crime with a strong hand whenever they can do so, it does not cease to be a duty, because robbery, cruelty and lust have been so powerful, that they can usurp to themselves the title of government.

Under these circumstances it is perfectly unnecessary to look for an external motive to stir up the Servians to war with Turkey. Russian intrigues are by no means required to incite

a nation under such circumstances. The normal state of things in Servia is to desire a war. The only question is, when and how it might be successful. The sympathy of the Russians rather withholds from war, in the hope that the strong armies of Russia may do the work for them. The development of their own resources, the desire to take a place among the nations of Europe in the arts and products of civilisation, makes them slow to prepare for war, unwilling to waste their means on a regular standing army. But when, as in the present case, the opportunity seems to have come, and there is a crisis in Turkish affairs, which is not to be passed by, the people can no longer be restrained, however ill-prepared the Servian Government may know itself to be.

Some prejudice, perhaps, exists against Servia on account of the changes which have taken place in its government since the date of its freedom. The nineteenth century, however, has seen so many vicissitudes in the reigning families of Europe and in their forms of government, that we need not be surprised that Servia has had her little revolutions. Indeed, the fact that there was no royal family which could claim the allegiance of the people in the way that our old reigning families of Europe can, has been undoubtedly a great element of instability. Again, it takes time to find out exactly what constitution is best suited for any free people, and Servia is working out the problem for herself.

The religious spirit of Servia is also a very striking feature to an English traveller. There is no dissent. All the people are of one faith, and they recall that faith as having been their principle of union and hope during the long ages of oppression. The only ancient buildings in Servia, the only memorials of past glory which have not been effaced by the Turks are the monasteries. These massive buildings, erected in the form of a square court with a church in the centre, look somewhat like fortresses, and have doubtless in past times served as such. These were the centres of life to Servia in its ages of slavery. There the people resorted in crowds at the time of the great feasts, and receiving the sacraments from the hands of the monks, were consoled and strengthened, and encouraged to hope and pray.

The custom of congregating at these churches on great feasts is still kept up. We were present at one of them, and the scene can never be forgotten. The day of the death of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or as it is called her *Koimésis* (falling asleep), is observed with great solemnity in the Greek Church, though whether they have any notion of a bodily assumption into heaven, like that current among the Latins, I cannot say. One would think not, because the legend of the bodily assumption represents it as occurring the third day after the death of the Blessed Virgin, so that it would

seem strange if both were commemorated on the same date. However, I leave this question to the learned. At any rate this feast is one of the chief ones in the ecclesiastical year, and is preceded by twelve days' fast, during which no meat is killed throughout the whole country. Occurring as it does in August, it is a most seasonable time for large gatherings.

Late on the night before the feast, we were driving by the light of a full moon up a narrow well-wooded glen, when taking a turn in the road, we suddenly came in view of a plateau in the midst of the hills, on which were encamped some thousands of people before the monastery of Ravenitza. The building stood up, massive and white, as if built of marble. The people were mostly asleep, but here and there was a minstrel playing or singing,—here and there some busy cook was preparing for the feast of the morrow. We slept in the monastery. Next day before sunrise the bells were ringing out, and the people crowding into church for the service. I was too late for the liturgy, but found a number of children being baptised. The people, I was told, were Wallachians; they were rough in manners, different in dress and tongue from the Servians, and by their rudeness contrasted unpleasantly with the reverence I had seen exhibited at service in the Cathedral at Belgrade. Probably this was partly due to the fact that the baptismal service must be strange and in great part unintelligible to uneducated persons, whereas the liturgy, from its frequent recurrence, and the explanation of it given to them as children, seems plain and straightforward. Wallachians, however, living under the Turkish rule must undoubtedly be without the religious teaching that the Servians get.

After the services were over, and whilst we were breakfasting in a gallery of the monastery, we looked down on a scene such as I never witnessed before or since. The people were dancing on the green below,—the simplest of measures to the simplest of tunes. Holding each other by the hand or the *kamarband*, they formed a large circle. The piper in the middle piped a tune of *three* notes, which gave the time, and peasant and soldier, Servian and Wallachian, men and women, all danced their simple step with that charming grace which belongs to an active people unspoilt by conventionality. The dance went on for hours. When any one was tired, he fell out, and when he pleased he came in again. The great variety and the picturesqueness of the dress, added to the charm of the scene. It was all so easy and free, yet no license, no vulgarity, no intemperance.

Another great feast, which occurred when we were at Belgrade, was the Feast of the Transfiguration of our Lord. This is kept in Servia as a feast of first fruits, something equivalent to our Harvest Thanksgiving, now so generally observed at home.

Enormous dishes of grapes, and bread made of new corn, were brought as offerings, and after service distributed among the people. The service was of course the Liturgy. There were numbers of communicants, from the highest to the lowest, and from elderly men to babes in arms. The priest, standing on the sanctuary step, held the chalice in his hand, in which particles of the consecrated bread were immersed. The deacon stood by his side with a beautiful and rich cloth. The communicants passed in turn before the priest, who gave them the blessed sacrament, in both kinds at the same time, by means of a spoon, the deacon holding the cloth so as to prevent any accidental spilling of the sacrament on the ground.

The cathedral is a new building; so are all the churches in Servia, with the exception of the few ancient monasteries already mentioned. I was surprised to see what fine, solid, costly, stone churches had been built, and were being built, in comparatively small places. The architecture is of course always Byzantine. The Book of the Gospels, which is generally the richest ornament in the church, and always lies on the altar, often comes from Russia, as I believe the pictures and vestments also do.

The clergy are a fine-looking set of men, and are apparently much esteemed. According to the Eastern rule they are all of necessity married, except those who live in monasteries, and from these the Bishops are chosen. The Bishop of Schabatz, whom we visited, was evidently one of the *advanced school*. He was the only preacher whom we heard of, and was evidently very much loved and respected.

There is a theological seminary at Belgrade, and I saw a good deal of some of the professors, who belong to the monastic clergy. I stayed with them for some time in the seminary, but, as it was vacation time, I did not see the students. There was, of course, none of the intellectual restlessness of the universities of the West, but my friends seemed to understand their own religion, and to take an interest in learning something about the Church of England. The cost of a student is about £8 per annum and the course of study is as follows:—

First year.—Ecclesiastical Slavonic (an old form of the language in which the services are said, and which in its elements is taught to all children in the national schools), History, Rhetoric, Russian language.

Second year.—Dogmatic Theology, Servian History, Physical Science, Rhetoric, Russian language.

Third year.—Dogmatic Theology, Old Testament, Liturgical Theology, Homiletics, Canon Law, Hermeneutics.

Fourth year.—Pastoral Theology, Moral Theology, New Testament, Canon Law, Hermeneutics.

What is really contained under these grand headings, I cannot tell. Notwithstanding the rhetoric, homiletics, and hermeneutics, I never heard, as I said, of any preacher but the Bishop of Schabatz.

In a country where dissent is unknown, and religion is most closely allied with patriotism, there is of course no shyness about the performance of religious duties or the introduction of religious topics, because there is no fear of exciting ridicule or giving offence. At a large dinner, at which we were present, religious chants and hymns were interspersed with drinking of healths, and making speeches.

Though there is so universal an adherence amongst the Servians to the "Holy orthodox Church," they are more than tolerant of other forms of Christianity. For the English Church they have a warm sympathy, and a genuine respect. The Lutheran pastor, who resides at Belgrade to minister to the few Germans who have settled in the country, receives, I believe, some annual grant from the Government. At a service of his, which I attended, in one of the cities, several Servian clergy were also present. It was the celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the Lutheran rite, and, as a token of sympathy, the Servian clergy lent him the Cross and candlesticks from the altar of their own church to adorn the temporary altar which he had fitted up in a room in the house of one of his congregations.

When my companions were about to leave Servia and return to England, I determined to stay behind for a time alone. I am glad that I did so, for it gave me great additional insight into the country. Though their hospitality was not at an end, for my friends still entertained me as a guest, yet, the feasting being over, I was able better to see and understand the quiet every-day life of Servia. I stayed in the theological college with the professors, one of whom has since, I believe, become a Bishop. It was holiday time, and we chatted and smoked a great part of the day; I, like an Englishman, wanting to know and understand everything, and they, proud of their country and their church, not backward to explain. The want of a common tongue was of course a considerable impediment. However, Latin was the vehicle of our conversation; and, though I had never spoken it before, I found it by no means difficult, and so expressive, that it seemed a pity it was not, as in former days, a *lingua franca* for the educated of all Christendom. In Hungary it is still a living language, and there, if I remember right, my friends had studied.

The heat was so great that during the middle of the day the houses were closed as in India. In the winter, however, the cold is equally intense, the rivers being frozen over for a long time. Hence the houses are built with double windows, and a large stove

is a conspicuous part of the furniture. Our meals were two, *viz.*, at noon, and at 8 P.M. A very tiny cup of coffee without sugar, milk, or anything to eat with it, was served in the morning.

Servia, as a country, emphatically belongs to the East. The pushing commerce, the strife of intellect, the ardent pursuit of science, the unending thirst for novelty and amusement, the boundless speculation, the teeming printing presses, which characterise Western life, are not to be found there. But justice, order, education, a love of propriety and dignity, the social and family virtues, are all to be seen in sufficient fulness to make the nation great and prosperous. Christian and brotherly feeling is there to knit together the different elements of society, as well as a sense of freedom and independence which is a guarantee of the future liberties of the people. As I look back upon Servia, I can no more imagine it again submitting to the yoke of the Turks, than I can imagine Devonshire and Cornwall, though they were transplanted into the middle of the Turkish Empire, ever submitting to a Mahommedan rule. The hands of the world's clock cannot be put backward, and when once a nation has learnt what that true political liberty is which Christianity has both introduced and matured, it is impossible again to subject it to the yoke of a despotism which belongs to the age of darkness, and remains on in Europe only as an anachronism, an historical lesson, and scandal.

ART. V.—THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ARYAS.

1. *Avadi*. By Tekchand Thackoor. Post 8vo. Calcutta : 1871.
2. *A Treatise on the Yogi Philosophy*. By N. C. Paul. Benares : 1851.

IN the Rig-Veda, *atma* (soul) was used for breath and sometimes for the animating principle. The word *manas* (mind) was used for the soul, subsequently *atma* stood for the soul and *manas* for the mind. The Katha Upanishad says, "The mind is higher than the senses, the intellect is higher than the mind, the great soul is higher than the intellect." The Bhagavat-Gîta holds that the soul is so distinct that the mind cannot even know it. The Nyaya and Vaisheshic (two schools of philosophy) consider the mind "an organ of perception which effects the apprehension of pain, pleasure or interior sensation." Vedantism looks upon mind as an instrument of the soul. Manu speaking of creation says, "God produced the great principle of the soul, or first, explanation of the Divine idea," before "consciousness the internal monitor, and mind the reasoning power." Sreemut Bhagbut (V) calls mind the cause of grief, sickness, affliction, delusion, greed, anger and enmity. In the Mahabharat (Muckadharma), mind is said to be the organ of the senses and passions, and in the Santi Purva the soul is described as higher than the mind; but nothing is higher than the soul. Yogi Vasistha says that the mind has no form, it merely desires and appears in various forms. It approaches the realm of the soul as it is free from desire. The Sanhya Karika testifies to the subordinate position of the mind, "As the headman of the village collects the taxes from the villagers and pays them to the governor of the district; as the local governor pays the amount to the minister, and the minister views it for the use of the king; so mind, having ideas from the external organs, transfers them to *egotism*, and *egotism* delivers them to intellect, which is the general superintendent and takes charge of them for the use of the sovereign soul."

Plato thought that "soul and mind are one and indivisible." Sir William Hamilton says, "the word mind is of a more limited signification than the word soul. In the Greek philosophy the term soul comprehends besides the sensitive and rational principles in man, the principles of organic life, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and in Christian theology it is likewise used in contrast to spirit in a vague and more extensive signification." Bacon thought that the mind referred to the Deity, and the soul to the body.* Mind has thus been the subject of study in Europe.

* Fischer's Bacon.

Locke was an original thinker, but in taking up the subject of the soul, he thought that it might be *material*. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we had idealism advocated by Malebranche, Spinoza and Leibnitz, and sensationalism by Locke, Hume, and Condillac; till we had Kant as an advocate of *a priori* intuitions, and he was followed by Hegel and Schelling. Buckle divides the metaphysicians into sensationalists and idealists, who arrive at different conclusions; and he says "the resources of metaphysics are evidently exhausted." The writings of some of the foreign metaphysicians are characterised by transcendentalism which remind us of the Arya train of thought. Franklin thought that "mind would one day become omnipotent over matter." Carlyle says the "word soul, as with us in some Slavonic dialects, seems to be synonymous with *stomach*. * We plead and speak in our parliaments and elsewhere as not from the soul but from the stomach, wherefore our pleadings are so slow to profit." Lord Lytton bears his testimony to the stagnation of metaphysics—"England has not advanced since the days of Locke, and he said that soul may be material and that, by revelation only, we can know that it is not so."

The distinction which the Aryas* made between the mind and soul is noteworthy, as it forms the basis of their psychology. They did not proceed to examine the phenomena of the mind, and classify the results of their observations as an empirical science; but they always tried to dive deep by abstract meditation.

Originally there was no caste among the Aryas. Settled in the Punjab with fire burning in every house for worship three times a day, they were intensely contemplative. In the Rig-Veda we find that they thought of "one deity, great soul (*maha atma*);" they chanted "whoever knows Brahma, who is existence, knowledge and infinity, as dwelling within the cavity (of the heart), in the infinite ether, enjoys all desires at once with the Brahma," and "let us meditate on the adorable light of the divine ruler (*Savitri*); may it guide our intellect." God is described as "the father of all the gods—Lord of creation and Lord of all prayer." The Aryas were theists. The change in the name of the God signified nothing; "that which is ever, the wise call many ways, they call it Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni, the winged heavenly Garamut." Dr. Muir says that in the Rig-Veda, Indra is spoken of as a father and the most fatherly of fathers, and as being both a father and a mother; he is the helper of the poor and the lover of mortals.

The ethical view of God subsequently culminated in a spiritual conception. In the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad of the Rig-Veda we find as follows:—"Adore as Brahma the spirit who abides in the soul (in self)." As the conception of God became spiritual, prayers ceased to be mundane.

* The "nobles"—Indian Aryans.

Katha says "the thoughtful knowing what is eternal do not pray for anything mundane." In Sreemut Bhagavat (Book IX) there is an extraordinary prayer attributed to Rantideva.

"Before God I do not pray for transcendental powers or *mukti*. My prayer is that I may really be possessed of the suffering of all, that they may be free from it."

The constant devotion of Arya thought to the Deity [promoted spiritual culture; and the soul, often touched, presented to many a Rishi psychological revelations which not only prevented the growth of materialism and sensualism, but opened a vast field of idealism and spiritualism. Max Müller has observed that the Aryas are the most spiritual of races. This remark is just, so far that the literature of no other nation shows so much devotion to God when the Rig-Veda and Upanishads were composed. The study of God naturally opened up the study of the soul. The conception of the soul was in the beginning nebulous, but it gradually cleared up and assumed consistency. In the Rig-Veda there are hymns which refer to "suns in heaven, Vishnu's beloved abode where men devoted to God rejoice." The belief was that there were two paths to the celestial world, one for the gods and one for the *pitris*. Yama is the first person who was admitted into the celestial world. Now let us see what was thought regarding the soul. According to the *Upanishads*, a man has three births, viz., from his parents, by sacrifice, and after death and cremation. There is a hymn which says "the perfect men, great sages, cast off their old bodies and ascend in new ones of splendour like the sun in chariots of fire." Again the spirit leaves here all the imperfections, and being "united with a lustre like that of the sun, soars in a car or on wings to the eternal realms of light; recovers there its ancient body in a complete and glorified form; meets with the forefathers living in festivity with Yama, obtains delectable abode, and enters upon a more perfect life."

The Atharva-Veda speaking of heaven describes it as the scene of "perpetual life and glory." The idea was that the heaven was composed of spheres, as the same work says that "in the third heaven which is luminous, action is unrestricted—there are joys and delights, pleasures and gratifications of desire," and holds out the hope of the re-establishment of domestic and social relations in the world to come. The Bhagavat-Gita says "they proceed unbewildered to that imperishable place which is not illumined by the sun or moon, to that primeval spirit whence the spirit of life for ever flows." The Rig-Veda enunciated the immortality of the soul. The Artharva-Veda took a psychological view of the soul which is "calm, undecaying, young, free from desires, immortal, self-existent, with the essence, satisfied,

deficient in nothing." This idea was subsequently worked out and elaborated in the Upanishads and Darsanas.

The three births above alluded to, are, the natural birth, the regenerated birth, and the spiritual birth. The conviction as to the immortality of the soul was so strong that it gave rise to *shraddhs* or offering funeral cakes to the souls of the deceased, which is considered not only a sacred duty on the part of every Hindu, but a condition of inheritance. In the offer of funeral cakes, there is a spirit of charity for the souls of the unfortunate:—"May those who have no mother or kinsman, no food or supply of nourishment, be contented with this food offered on the ground and attain like it a happy abode." During the Vedic times, in the address to Agni (god of fire), it was said "Do not, Agni! burn up or consume him (the deceased); as for his unborn, do thou (Agni) kindle it with thy heat." The unborn was distinct from the immaterial soul, and meant "the unborn sempiternal nature."

The doctrine of transmigration was foreign to the Rig-Veda. It was a belief of subsequent growth, but was held as a purificatory process, but not eternal. Menu alludes to the restoration of the wicked (xii 22), and Yagnawabya speaks of their "original better station." In subsequent times the conviction was strong that those who attained divine knowledge avoided the penance of transmigration. We do not find mention of hell, even when transmigration was not thought of. In some of the Upanishads a dark region is mentioned for the wicked, which the Puranas afterwards converted into a place of torment and too hot for the sinners. The Kaustiki Upanishad mentions the ascension of a good man to Brahma's world. When the soul knows divine knowledge, it is said "this my world is thine." During the Rig-Veda period, invocations were made to the *pitris* or spirits of deceased ancestors occupying "three stages of blessedness." The Atharva-Veda says "may the soul go to its own kindred and hasten to the father." The destiny of the spirits is evident from the Vaj Sauk. "May these *pitris*, innocuous and versed in righteousness who have attained to (higher) life (*Asu*), protect us in the sacrifices." The Satapa Brahmana also throws light on the same point. "The abode of Brahm is the pure eternal light, the highest sphere of Vishnu, who is regarded as the Supreme Brahma. There are the unselfish, the humble, those who are indifferent to pain and pleasure, those whose senses are under restraint, and those who practise contemplation and fix their minds on the Deity."

The Rig-Veda chanters did not think that the soul after death was in a state of inactivity. Its mission was to "protect the good, to attend the gods, and to be like them." "On the path

of fathers there are eight and eighty thousand patriarchal men who turn back to the earthly life to sow righteousness and to succour it." Again a soul after death was "guided by spirits of the intermediate stations in the divine realm which it has to pass over." It is thus evident that India was the cradle of spiritualism—the land where a deep conviction was entertained of the immortality of the soul—of its returning to earth "to sow righteousness and succour it", and of its endless progression in the spiritual world. We have already alluded to the form of the soul after death and ascension. The original idea was that the highest reward for good deeds was the re-creation of the soul with the entire body. It is this belief which gave rise to the practice of collecting bones after cremation. In later ages when nature and soul were closely studied, there was a change in the idea as to the composition of the soul. Every human being has three bodies, gross, *lingua* or *sukhma* (subtle), and *karana*. According to the Vedantic philosophy, the human soul consists of five sheaths, viz., the nutritious, vital, mental, intellectual and blissful. The last three sheaths constitute the *lingua* or *sukhma sarira*, and if the soul can be abstracted from the gross to the subtle or *lingua sarira*, it rises from the natural to what the spiritualists call "superior condition" or to the soul life. The *lingua sarira*, whether embodied or disembodied, lasts till Nirvan or *bedehe mukti*, *mokha* or pure spirituality is attained. Spirituality does not refer to a more disembodied state, but one based on divine knowledge being the very life of it. Spiritual state is progressive and may be attained here to a great extent. When the soul from the *lingua* rises to the *karana*, its attenuation is higher, inasmuch as it develops itself in higher spiritual consciousness. The soul so elevated reaches the blissful state—a state which converts the finite into infinitude—the phenomenal into real. There is no difference between the blissful state and profound sleep, as in both these conditions the soul is free from all sensuous restraints, and is in its natural elasticity and freedom. Marcus Antoninus is said to have received "many admonitions from the gods in his sleep." We shall dwell on the point again.

We are not aware that there is another nation which has made such a marked distinction between *mind* and *soul*. The former in one sense is a product of *pracriti* (creation), and in another sense is the sentient soul which can reach only the horizon of finitude. When the soul is free from the action of the senses, it reveals truths in dreams, presentiments, and second sight. In this way the mathematician's solution of the problem, the lawyer's lucid statement,* and many somnambulo and clairvoyant phenomena may be explained.

* Abercrombie's *Intellectual Powers*.

Valmiki, in the Ramayan, sang as follows :—

Fine are the laws which guide the good,
 Abstruse and hardly understood ;
 Only the soul enthroned within the breast of each knows right.

CANTO XVII.

The Bhagbut-gîta, a Vedantic work, says "Itself exempt from every organ, it is the reflected light of every faculty of the organs. Unattached, it containeth all things, and without quality it partaketh of every quality." In the tenth book of the Sreemut Bhagbut, Krishna, in his lecture to his kinsman Uddhava, says : "Know, what is acquired by mind, speech, eye, ear, in this world is full of *mind*, and being delusively gained is not lasting. The knowledge acquired through intellect is likewise not free from the like imperfections."

It is noteworthy that the Arya and Hellenic ideas on some points bear close affinity. The Vedantism is an emanative doctrine, which not only took a deep root in India, but extended itself to other parts of the world. Socrates thought that the human soul was "allied to the Divine Being, not by participation of essence, but by similarity of nature." Like some of the Upanishads he held that the highest science was the knowledge of God—"that every thought of man must have its root in the knowledge of itself and the Deity." The Aryas called this science *para-vidya*—all other knowledge being inferior. Plato thought, like his master, whose love of spiritualism was so great that he was prepared to get rid of his body, that "the ethereal substance of the soul may be left to its free expansion and fellowship with the intelligent world, apart from sense and its solicitations." Plato also looked upon "visible things as fleeting shadows and ideas as the only permanent substances." Plato's division of the soul was tripartite though in the Phædo it is held to be one. The divisions are *rational* or *intellectual*, *passionate*, and *appetitive*. The Vedantists looked upon soul as God. Plato considered it an emanation from Demiurgus, the cosmical soul, the Hiranagarvya of the Aryas. Like the Hindu sages, Socrates and Plato were convinced that, those who by philosophy detached soul from body, were saved after death the pang of embodiment and lived in the different world amidst "eternal ideas, essences and truth." Aristotle also, like the Vedantists, divided the faculties of the soul into nutritive, sentient, phantastic and nôetic (cogitant and intelligent), each higher, possessing the powers of the lower. The nôetic, or cogitant soul, is the highest, and he agreed with Plato that it was superinduced from the cosmical soul. Pythagoras inculcated that God pervaded "all nature of which every human soul was a portion." The Stoics looked upon the human soul "as a portion of the divinity, and that the truly wise felt no pain

or pleasure." The Egyptian theory of the soul resembles the Indian. The soul as a portion of the universal mind returns to it, the wicked undergoing purgation in other bodies. The Persians believed that the "human soul is a portion of the divine light, which will return to its sources and partake of its universality." The Sufees were Vedantists to the backbone. Marcus Antoninus says: "Pay the greatest reverence to that which is most excellent, which is that faculty the most nearly allied to the Deity." The doctrines of the New Platonists were tinged with Vedantism. Paul was thoroughly Vedantic in his teaching—"In him we live, move and have our being." Early Christian writers make soul intermediate between flesh and spirit, and it is elevated as it follows the spirit which reminds one of the teaching of the Katha Upanishad. Man is elevated if he follows the spiritual element and degraded if carnality be its guide. Sir W. Jones says: "I can venture to affirm without venturing to pluck a leaf from the never-fading laurels of our immortal Newton, that the whole of his theology and part of his philosophy may be found in the Vedas and even in the works of the Sufee." The following passage in Hume bears resemblance to Vedantism: "The divinity is a boundless ocean of bliss and glory; human minds are smaller streams, which arising at first from the ocean, seek still amid their wanderings to return to it, and lose themselves in that immensity and perfection." Fichte appears to think in the same way. He says, "that the real spirit which comes to itself in human consciousness is to be regarded as an impersonal pneuma—universal reason may as the spirit of God himself; and that the good of man's whole development therefore can be no other than to substitute the universal for the individual consciousness." The Vedantism holds that transmigration is a purificatory process in view to reunion with God in whom all souls must be ultimately absorbed. To avoid the pang of transmigration devout exercise is inculcated, as by this means "past sin is annulled and future precluded." The devout exercises are said to give the soul great will power, which enables it to invoke the spirits of its ancestors and perform miracles. The liberation of the soul or *mukti*, *moksha*, *nehreyasa*, or *nirvan*, means not physical deliverance from body, but through a perfect knowledge of Brahma, a consequent identification with divinity and absorption into his essence. Cicero says "all souls are undying, but those of the best men are divine." Colonel Vans Kennedy expresses his opinion that "the Vedanta is the most spiritual system that was ever imagined by man."

The Vaisesika disagrees with the Vedanta as to the absorption of the human soul in God, the two being dissimilar; but when the soul is beheld separate from the body, true knowledge is gained.

The Naya holds that "the soul is entirely distinct from the body; it is infinite in its principle, and while it is infinite in its principle, it is a special substance different in each individual; it has special attributes, as knowledge, will, desire; attributes which are not alike in all the substances, and which constitute a special existence for the being who experiences them."

The Sankhya is latitudinarian. It agrees with the Vedanta and Nyaya in the eternity of the soul, but is emphatic in maintaining that it is individual, free, and lives and progresses by itself. It is, however, distinct from matter, nor is it affected by the three qualities of creation, *viz.*, goodness, passion and darkness.

The Sankhya inculcates that the soul has the following powers: shrinking into a minute bulk to which everything is pervious; enlarging to a gigantic body,* assuming levity (rising along a sunbeam to the solar orb); possessing an unlimited reach of organs as touching the moon with the tips of a finger; irresistible will (for instance sinking into the earth as easily as in water); dominion over all things, animate or inanimate, faculty of changing the course of nature, ability to accomplish every desire.

The powers are called, 1, Anima; 2, Mahima; 3, Laghima; 4, Garima; 5, Prapti; 6, Prakamya; 7, Vasiṭwa; 8, Isitwa or divine power. The first four powers relate to the body and motion. The fifth predicting future events, understanding unknown languages, curing diseases, divining unexpressed thoughts, understanding the language of the heart. The sixth is the power of converting old age into youth. The seventh is the power of mesmerizing human beings and beasts and making them obedient; it is the power of restraining passions and emotions. The eighth power is the spiritual state, and pre-supposes the absence of the above seven powers, as in this state the Yogi is full of God.

We thus see that mesmerism, electro-biology, or magnetism, was not unknown to the Aryas; the art of *basikurun* or taking possession of one's will, was practised in early times. We have already stated that the Pracriti is the equipoise of three qualities, goodness, passion, and darkness, which reach the mind or the sentient soul, but not the soul itself, when it is free from sensuousness. While Vedantism holds that the soul is a spark from God and returns to it, the other schools while agreeing to its being a subjective reality, maintain that the soul is manifold. All the schools, however, aim at the emancipation of the soul from bondage. This bondage is Pracriti † according to

* See report of the London Dialectic Society, p. 119.

† The Pracriti is Mahat, Budhi or Mind, Ahankara, (self-consciousness) and the five gross elements—subtle rudiments mean the efficient and vital causes, which may be electricity and magnetism.

Saukya and Avidya, or Maya according to Vedānta; but both are *non-intelligent* in contradistinction to the soul which is *intelligent*. The hindrances to the emancipation of the soul are of three kinds, *viz.*, 1, proceeding from self; 2, from external causes; 3, from the agency of superior beings or fortuitous causes. In reality the soul is not in bondage which applies to its organ the mind, but when the bondage ceases, the soul's natural freedom appears. To counteract the influence of these causes and evoke the evolution of the soul, both the Vedānta and Sāṅkhya recommended devout contemplation which led to the formation of the Yoge philosophy which Kapila initiated, and Patanjali elaborated. He recommends that the best means for preventing the modifications or altered states is *exercise* and *dispassion*, *i.e.*, continued concentration and calmness which settle the mind into the soul. By calmness is meant the abandonment of all desire, except for spiritual advancement. Concentration means meditation, which is of two kinds, *viz.*, with an object and without an object. The former has four stages, *viz.*, argumentation, de-
 liberation, beatitude and egotism, which denote progressive dis-
 engagement of thought from matter. The last stage is called egotis-
 cal, because it is more subjective. The meditation which is without
 an object is self-producing and independent of experience or ob-
 servation without. Its scope is infinite and merges in God, He
 being infinite in wisdom. In the meditation with an object,
 there is a tinging of the subjective and objective; and the know-
 ledge so acquired, is argumentative or mixed object of thought.
 The meditation without an object is non-argumentative, as it
 consists of nothing but clear knowledge of the actual thing thought
 upon. This theory is like Fichte's idealism, which identifies the
 object with the subject. Sreemut Bhagbut (Book IV) states that
 Jhruba's contemplation ended in the annihilation of the distinction
 between the thinker and the object thought upon, and thus enabled
 him to find in the blissful sheath the blissful God. During
 meditation without an object the soul is marked and active in its
 operations. It imparts wisdom or pure knowledge, by which
 minute things hidden or very far off are observed. The visual—
 the phenomenal—the mundane, are observed in the seer—the
 soul self-producing and self-knowing in calm repose without the
 intervention of successive stages—in thorough subjectivity and isola-
 tion. The stages of the disengagement of the soul from matter
 are: 1, Samadhi or union between subject and object; 2, exercise of
 transcendental powers; 3, Caibalya or isolation. The transcendental
 powers acquired by Yogis have been exemplified by burying fakirs,
 touched for by English witnesses. It is also stated that Colonel
 Townsend "could die or expire when he pleased; yet by an effort
 somehow he could come to life again." There appears to be an

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affinity between Yogi and the modern spiritualism, both aiming at the "superior condition" or supersensuous state. There are several stages in the Yog as in the spiritualism. *Pranayama* approaches reverie or abstraction. *Pratyahara* is the suspension of the senses and leads to *dharana* or state of abstraction from breath, mind, and natural wants and tranquillity from all sensual disturbances. It is the somnambulistic state. The next state is *dhya* or intense contemplation, which is the clairvoyant state. *Samadhi* is the last state which is "the superior condition" or spiritual state; in which state the Yogi is insensible to, and free from all mundane and mental influence and intently occupied without any efforts with ideas of the Great Soul. Dr. Carpenter* states that "this condition of self-induced suspension of vital activity forms, as it were, the climax of a whole series of states, with two of which I was myself very familiar—"Electrobiology" or artificial reveries and "hypnotism" or artificial somnambulism—both of them admirably studied by Mr. Braid, through whose kindness I had many opportunities of investigating their phenomena."

"As long as the distinction between mind and soul, or the sensuous and supersensuous soul was not understood, the Aryas laid stress on the sacrifices, different kinds of religious observances, self-mortifications, self-tortures, self-immolations, but the close investigation of physiology resulted in the crystallization of one thought—that in proportion as we succeeded in disengaging our souls from sensuousness, we had purer ideas of God and of our duties to Him and to ourselves—that our real heaven was not a heaven of locality, but a superior state in us, which was susceptible of gradual expansion as the emancipation of our soul progressed. The Rev. A. D. Griffith in his essay in the *Bhagbut-gita* says; "We are not to be suspected of Hindu austerities; we simply state that the Yoge doctrine is founded upon a deep acquaintance with the human constitution and its wants." It appears that the ideas of the Aryas were not confined to India. "It is perfectly evident to me" said Socrates in his last moments "that to see clearly we must detach ourselves from the body and perceive by the soul alive, not whilst we live, but when we die, will that wisdom, which we desire and love, be first revealed to us; it must be then or never that we shall attain to true understanding and knowledge; since by means of the body we never can. But if, during life, we would make the nearest approaches possible to its possession, it must be by divorcing ourselves as much as in us lies from the flesh and its nature."

Plato in the *Phædo* says, "The soul reasons most effectually when none of the corporeal senses harass it; neither hearing, sight

pain, or pleasure of any kind, but it retires as much as possible within itself and aims at the knowledge of what is real, taking leave of the body; and, as far as it can, abstaining from any union or participation with it." Mosheim (vol. I, 398) says, that "In order to the attainment of true felicity and communion with God, it was necessary that the soul should be separated from the body even here below, and that the body was to be macerated and mortified for that purpose."

In the Brihad Aranyia, Matraya asks her husband Yajñawalkya to instruct her in the knowledge by which final beatitude may be attained. The learned husband says, "abstraction procures immortality and leads to the knowledge of the Supreme God." Another Vedic teaching is, "seek the knowledge by devout meditation." The Sankhya divides the whole world into soul and non-soul or Prakriti, and that we cannot know what soul is unless we become ourselves soul, i.e., raise the natural to spiritual consciousness. Concentration refers to the mind or sentient soul as it is a mere matter of attention fixed upon a particular object, but abstraction means the separation of the thinking from the sentient soul; and, in proportion as this abstraction could be achieved, it led to real superiority.

It will appear from the foregoing pages that that the Aryas did not accept the knowledge as chief knowledge or *pura vidya* derivable from *empiricism*. No writings revealed or sacred were allowed to be so authoritative and final as the teaching of the soul. Some of the Rishis appear to have laid the greatest stress on this supersensuous source of knowledge. In the Chhandagya Upanishad, Narada is reported to have gone to Sanat Kumara for instruction, and was asked to state what he had learnt. Narada said, "I am instructed, venerable sage, in the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, the Atharva (which is) the fourth, the Itihasas and Puranas (which are) the fifth Veda of the Vedas, the rites of the Pitris, the art of reasoning, ethics, the science of the Gods, the knowledge of scripture, demonology, the science of war, the knowledge of the stars, the science of serpents and deities; this is what I have studied. I, venerable man, know only the hymns (*mantras*), while I am ignorant of soul." Sanat Kumara replied, "that which thou has studied is nothing but name."

It appears that Bacon in this study of the mind dived deeper: he says, "the mind, abstracted or collected itself and not diffused the organs of the body, has, from the natural power of its own sense, some foreknowledge of future things; and this appears chiefly in sleep, ecstasies, and the near approach of death." The rise of physicalism and empiricism has exercised some influence on the freedom of thought and enquiry and may have extended the domain of scepticism more than that of truth; still we find

eminent enquirers making admissions not quite in accordance with the general tenor of their writings. Tyndall (*Fragments of Science*) says. "It was found that the mind of man has the power of penetrating far beyond the boundaries of his free senses; that the things which are seen in the material world depend for their action upon things unseen; in short, that besides the phenomena which address the senses, there are laws and principles and processes which do not address the senses at all, but which need be and can be spiritually discerned." Sir W. Hamilton, who is entirely for all knowledge being in relation with our faculties which are finite, and we are therefore unable to know what is infinite or absolute, says, "the infinitely greater part of our spiritual nature, lies always beyond the sphere of our own consciousness, hid in the obscure recesses of the mind."* Sir William endorses the truthfulness of the Arya theory of the somnambulist state. "In this singular state," says he, "a person performs a regular series of rational actions, and those frequently of the most difficult and delicate nature, and what is still more marvellous, with a talent to which he could make no pretension when awake. His memory and reminiscence supply him with recollections of words and things, which perhaps were never at his disposal in the ordinary state; he speaks more fluently a more refined language; and if we are to credit what the evidence on which it rests hardly allows us to disbelieve, he has not only perceptions through other channels than the common organs of sense, but the sphere of his cognitions is amplified to an extent far beyond the limits to which sensible perception is confined."

A theory is being maintained that dreams involving "revelations of all secrets and predictions" as well as intellectual problems are owing to unconscious cerebration. It is difficult to establish this theory as it cannot cover all classes of dreams. Latent thought thrown into activity may be from past experience or from matters relating to itself. How could Cazote predict the horrors of the French Revolution? Dr. Moore says "that the brain itself does not think, and what is called unconscious cerebration is really work carried on by the soul during sleep and remembered when awake."

The Aryas having larger acquaintance with the soul aimed at "knowledge beyond relation of subject and object, objectless intelligence, self-luminous, illuminating or manifesting."

Let us see what are these internal states for the reception of pure and true knowledge.

Katha says,—"The state which ensues when the five organs of

* *Contemporary Review* for May 1871, p. 209.

knowledge remain (alone) with the mind and the intellect does not strive, is called the highest aim."

Prasana says.—"When he becomes overwhelmed with light, then that good (the mind) does not see the dream; at that time rises that happiness (of deep sleep in the body.)"

The note explains, that, during this state impression ceases when the soul state begins; or in other words if we are not unimpressional and tranquil, we are not free from the bondage of the senses and in a state to know what is true. It is therefore clear that empiricism or sensuous experience was not thought the correct source of knowledge.

Another note is "because the gate of seeing is closed by splendour, there is no special thought, or because all has become one and the same thinking, no special thought is perceived, this answers that state which is called profound sleep."

Mandakya.—Divides the soul into four natural states. It is *Yoge* or will force that some of these states are superinduced:—

I.—Waking state, called Vaiswanara, enjoying gross objects.

II.—Dreaming state, called Taijasa, enjoying subtle objects.

III.—Profound sleep—no desire, no dream, knowledge uniform—enjoying bliss and knowledge. Somnambulism and clairvoyance come under this state.

IV.—Knowledge not external, nor internal, nor both. Consciousness of soul in which all the spheres have ceased—i.e., spiritual state, enjoying pure intelligence.

The Brihad Aranyaka says.—"The highest place, the highest state of the soul, is where it exists, as the soul in its own inherent state." The soul contains within itself the true heaven which the *Brihadogya* supports.—"He who knows it (soul) daily retires to the region of *Surga* (heaven) in his own heart." *Talavakara* says, "Know that which does not think by the mind, and by which the mind, is thought."

The psychological teachings of the Aryas may be summed up as follows:—

Every human being has a soul which, while not separable from the brain and nerves, is *mind* or *jivatma* or sentient soul, but when regenerated or spiritualized by *Yoge*, it is free from bondage and manifests the divine essence. It rises above all phenomenal states—joy, sorrow, grief, fear, hope; and in fact, all states resulting in pain or pleasure and becomes *आनन्दमय*, or blissful, realizing immortality, infinitude and felicity of wisdom within itself. The sentient soul is nervous, sensational, emotional, phenomenal and impressional. It constitutes the natural life and is finite. The soul and the non-soul are thus the two landmarks. What is non-soul is *Pracrit*. It is not the lot of every one to know what the soul is; and therefore millions live and die possessing

minds cultivated in intellect and feeling, but not raised to the soul state. In proportion as one's soul is emancipated from Pracrit or sensuous bondage, in that proportion his approximation to the soul state is attained; and it is this which constitutes disparities in the intellectual, moral and religious culture of human beings, and their consequent approximation to God.

The Aryas did not aim at any creed which must be more or less the product of the finite mind or sentient soul. It is true that creeds of different kinds were the outcome of different ages. But it will be found that they were called forth by the peculiar circumstances of the age, and presented by minds powerful in working upon the people. Whatever may be the merits of the creeds which succeeded each other, the transcendental teaching of the Aryas as to the soul remains undisturbed. They held that, as long as we are impressional, the knowledge we acquire is more or less fallacious. In one of the prayers contained in the Vishnu Purana it is said—“Who as internal intellect, delivers the impressions received by the senses to soul.” The light the Aryas aimed at was not from the senses nor from the mind, but from *within*—the splendour of the soul,—thus ignoring cerebration, empiricism, and agnosticism and anticipating the teaching of the Bible—“*the kingdom of God is within you.*”

The highest form of divine worship is therefore the absorption of the brain-life in the soul-life, as this is the only way to acquire *true knowledge—the para vidya*—the highest wisdom, and realise in the infinite realm of the soul the infinite God and the infinite progression of the disembodied life.

PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

ART. VI.—TRANS-HIMALAYAN MISSIONS AND THEIR RESULTS.

- 1.—*Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1870.* By Mr. T. D. Forsyth, C.B. Supplement to *Gazette of India*, January 7th, 1871.
- 2.—*Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1873, under command of Sir T. D. Forsyth, C.B., K.C.S.I.* Foreign Department Press : Calcutta, 1875.
- 3.—*Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa. With notes and an Introduction, &c.* By Mr. Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S., Geographical Department, India Office. Trübner & Co. : London, 1876.
- 4.—*Narratives, Maps, &c., of Trans-Himalayan Explorers in the Reports of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India for 1866-67, 1867-68, 1869-70, 1871-72, 1873-74, 1874-75.*
- 5.—*Geographical Magazine*, June 1876. With a map illustrating Pundit Nain Singh's journey in Tibet in 1874.
- 6.—*Map of Turkestan in four sheets.* Third Edition, June 1875. Compiled under the orders of Colonel J. T. Walker, R.E., Superintendent of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India.
- 7.—*Sheet No. 9, of the Trans-Frontier Skeleton maps of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, showing Nepal, Sikkim, parts of Great Tibet, parts of Bhootan.* Compiled under the orders of Colonel J. T. Walker, R.E., November 1873.
- 8.—*An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal.* By Colonel Kirkpatrick. Miller: London, 1811.

THE character of Warren Hastings has suffered from the brilliant essay of Lord Macaulay, so that few think of him except as the instigator of Nuncomar's violent death, the despoiler of Cheyte Singh and the Begums of Oudh, and the oppressor of the Rohillas. It is not that the necessary shading is altogether wanting to the picture. There is an occasional reference to good qualities, but in such an apologetic and half-hearted tone as serves only to throw into greater prominence the defects on which the critic has preferred to dwell. Whether from ignorance, too, or from indifference, Lord Macaulay has been silent on matters connected

with the Indian career of the first Governor-General, concerning which if he had sought diligently he might have gained valuable information. Thus it happens that while he tells in glowing language how, in order to meet the imperious demand of his honourable masters for money, Warren Hastings hired out British soldiers to a native Prince for a campaign which he could neither justify nor control, and how to this illgotten wealth he added by force the treasures of Benares and Fyzabad, he has omitted to notice the facts that, when Warren Hastings had reasonable grounds for pursuing the Bhootanese with vengeance, he listened to the intercession of their Pontiff Suzerain, the Teshu Lama of Tibet, and refrained from further warfare, and that he promptly profited by the opportunity which that potentate's communication afforded him of endeavouring to establish commercial relations, from which he is not the only person who has expected great pecuniary results to follow. That he was mistaken in his estimate of the wealth which was to be derived from Trans-Himalayan countries does not affect the question. After a lapse of nearly a century the mistake has been repeated in regard to Eastern Turkistan, and the assumptions of enthusiastic pioneers of trade have only been disproved at the cost of two expensive missions. What concerns us is that the evidence of Warren Hastings not being always so unprincipled in his financial policy as Lord Macaulay has led his readers to believe, existed at the time when the essay was written; and it is to be regretted that the author thought more of counteracting the effect of Mr. Gleig's partial biography than of extending his own researches so as to do justice to the memory of his subject.

For the historical details that were wanting we are indebted to the industry of Mr. Clements Markham. It had never been forgotten in official circles that Warren Hastings sent an Envoy to Tibet in the person of his friend, Mr. George Bogle of the Bengal Civil Service, for the purpose of developing trade; but only one of his reports has hitherto been found amongst the archives of Government. The coincidence by which the original correspondence is missing in India and the copy in London is to be deplored. Fortunately Mr. Bogle's own papers have been carefully preserved by his family, and from these, which include minutes by Warren Hastings, letters from and to him, reports, journals and the like, a fairly connected narrative has at last been drawn up. The volume which contains it includes, besides, Mr. Manning's account of his visit to Lhasa in 1811-12, extracts from the letters of some of the Roman Catholic priests who penetrated into Tibet during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and an introduction, notes and biographical sketches of the two English laymen by Mr. Markham.

Warren Hastings, himself Resident at Moorshedabad at the early age of twenty-four and Governor-General before he was forty, had the rare faculty of discerning talent in others, and surrounded himself with a band of young men whose ability was only equalled by their devotion. Of the number of these was Mr. Bogle, who landed in Calcutta for the first time at the age of twenty-three, and of whom four years later, in 1774, his chief was able, when selecting him as his representative to Tibet, to declare that he was well known for his intelligence and assiduity, and possessed of great coolness and moderation of temper. The sequel justified the choice. Unruffled under circumstances which might have provoked a more experienced diplomatist, displaying much tact and judgment in negotiation, with a winning manner amongst strangers, yet with a firmness which resisted imposition, ever looking on the bright side of things, able in various ways to beguile the monotony of his life beyond the border, with considerable power of observation and with a natural bent for acquiring information, which he has recorded in a fresh and lucid style, he was eminently the man to depute on such a mission. When obstacles were thrown in the way of his onward journey at Tassisudon he insisted on a further reference to the Teshu Lama, and whilst awaiting the reply was careful not to do anything which might compromise his prospects of advancing northwards or to imply that he had any expectation of aught but a favourable answer. The Calmuc pilgrims at Teshu Lumbo were not so dirty but what he enjoyed many a hard-fought game of chess with them. Amid the constant din of cymbals and the beating of drums around his lodgings he taxed his memory and his attention to write for the Teshu Lama a history of contemporary Europe, in which the description of political institutions was diversified with an account of the state of society, its inns and its stage coaches, its highwaymen and its duels. When the Teshu Lama offered to give him a detailed map of Tibet from Ladak to the frontier of China, he had enough self-restraint to decline the prize lest the news of its acceptance should tend to confirm the Lhasa Regent's suspicion that his visit was made with ulterior views of conquest, not trade. Crowds came to see him "as people go to look at the lions in the Tower", and with easy good nature he gratified their curiosity, denying himself to no one. The consequence was a daily succession of callers who added much to his knowledge. He would exchange a pinch of snuff with one, and a joke with another, and pick up a few new words in return. On the road he would amuse himself with throwing stones down the hill side. At another time he would be sliding on the ice, or he would be listening to the chime-like tones of a singer, or watching the wild irregularity of a Tibetan dance. Or he would

get a dirt-begrimed Tibetan to infringe the national custom by washing his face, and would enjoy his confusion amongst his companions afterwards. Nothing seemed to put him out, not even when at a country house his midnight slumber was disturbed by a fight between two of his host's pets, a wolf and a tiger-cat, with a pack of howling dogs as spectators. "Some said it was thieves, but as I could not think anybody would be so wicked as to attempt to rob the Lama's family, I had nothing for it but to conclude it was the devil." His little epigrams and humorous comments on passing events are charming. After the monotony of the priestly society in Tassisudon he comes across a man of real sagacity, whereon he draws the comparison that an ounce of mother-wit is worth a pound of clergy. We can fancy him in fits of laughter as Dr. Hamilton in order to illustrate the power of his microscope went to catch a fly, and frightened the Dhurm Raja out of his wits lest he should have killed it. The Deb Raja of Bhootan being human said grace before meals. The Teslu Lama of Tibet was divine, so dispensed with it. The sight of a cleverly-devised churn and straw-cutting machine calls forth the remark: "As I remember what a great discovery the cutting of straw was considered in England, I mention it only to show that nations, under-valued by Europeans, can, without the assistance of Royal Societies, find out the useful arts of life." A religious disputation carried on with much clapping of the hands and shaking of the heads on both sides, was, no doubt, in its gestures, "very improper and ridiculous, because they are quite different from those used by European orators, who are the true standards of what is just and what is graceful." A negligent priest was, by way of punishment, being held down on the ground by four persons whilst a fifth was bastinading him. "Let no one who has been at a public school in Europe cry out against the Tibetans for cruelty." His Persian studies curiously influence his English sometimes, as when he answered the Teslu Lama that he wished to attend his stirrup, and when he describes a fall of snow as six fingers deep.

Mr. Bogle has left valuable testimony of the state of Bhootan and Tibet. In both countries the clerical element is numerous. In Bhootan the priesthood is often the stepping-stone to temporal power. As its members are taken from the people at large and maintain their intercourse with their families, they have an easy means of influencing the country and ensuring its support to their measures. At the head of the Lords Spiritual are the three Lamas, incarnations of the body, heart and mouth of the leader of the Dukpa (Red cap)-seceders from Tibet, who conquered the country several centuries ago. These are known as Lama Rimboche, more familiar to English ears under the style of Dhurma Raja, Lama

Shabdong and Lama Giassatu, the Lam-Sebdo and Lam-Geysey of Mr. Davis. In Mr. Bogle's time Lama Shabdong was a minor, and Lama Giassatu was not traceable, his last bodily appearance having ceased twelve years before, and the person into whom his soul had passed not having been discovered. Though nominally supreme in the Government the Lamas, from the fact that their authentication as the true embodiments of holiness and their education depend on the priests, are much under their control. Their former seclusion necessitated the appointment of a temporal deputy, known as Cusho Debo or Deb Raja, who is elected by the Lamas conjointly with the priests, and who is entrusted with the nomination to civil posts, the collection of the revenue, mostly made in kind as till lately was the case in Cashmere, the command of the forces, and the power of life and death. The Deb Raja is liable to be set aside by the clergy, and a case of deposition occurred shortly before Mr. Bogle's mission, in which the Lama Rimboche took a prominent part, and which is curious as having been to some extent a protest against an act of the deposed Deb Raja, implying Chinese suzerainty over Bhootan. As in Burmah, so in Bhootan, there is no hereditary aristocracy, and therefore official rank is the only source of distinction. Next to the Deb Raja are the members of the council, composed of a Chief Judge, a Dewan, two Secretaries and six Provincial Governors, amongst whom are Mr. Eden's old friends the Penlows of Tongso and Paro.

In Tibet the body of the priests have less political power. But their religious chiefs the Dalai and Teshu Lamas of Lhasa and Teshu Lumbo have an infinitely greater and wider reputation, being credited with direct spiritual succession from Adi Buddha himself, whilst the Lamas of Bhootan are no more than the incorporation of a spirit emanating from their terrestrial forms. The Dalai and Teshu Lamas are at the head of the Gelupka (yellow rap) sect, which is in the ascendant in Tibet, and which originated in a protest against magic, clerical marriage and other innovations on pure Buddhism. The bestowal of his title by the Emperor of China is supposed to give the Dalai Lama superiority over the Teshu Lama, but it has happened, as indeed in Mr. Bogle's time, that during a minority of the former the latter has gained pre-eminence, notwithstanding the appointment of a Regent (Gesub Rimboche or Nomen Khan) to watch over the minor's interests. This Regent has at times continued to direct the temporal administration until the Dalai Lama has arrived at a mature age. When the Dalai or Teshu Lama assumed political functions they were called Gyalpo. Early in the eighteenth century the control of foreign relations was usurped by the Chinese Government, which has ever since been represented at Lhasa by its Umbas or Residents. Theoretically the Dalai Lama does not interfere in temporal matters,

so internal affairs are directed by a council of five, of which Gesub Rimboche is the President, and the other members are called Kahlons.

In Bhootan public expenditure is small, the chief demands on the treasury being for the annual tribute, or donation as the Bhootanese prefer to call it, to the Teshu Lama and the maintenance of the clergy. Every man possesses the rude weapons of warfare and must give his services as a soldier, a porter, or in any capacity in which the State may require, and in return he has his plot of lightly-taxed ground. The people are strong and well-built, fairly truthful, unaddicted to crime, and good-humoured. The women bear the brunt of domestic and field work. In Tibet the lot of the women is easier and the respect for them greater. The home Government of Tibet is more centralised than that of Bhootan, the revenue being collected by officers specially deputed from the capital for this purpose, and all orders of importance to local Governors, who are its nominees, emanating from the council. There is a small standing army, supplemented by Chinese troops at Lhasa, and a national militia as in Bhootan, but the more sacred character of the Lamas tends, it is said, to discourage aggressive warfare. In Eastern Turkistan, on the contrary, that which has been won by the sword has to be held by the sword, and centralization is carried to a fault. There every one is subject to the stern will of the present puritan ruler, who, as Vamberg justly remarks, might have been another Zenghis Khan or Tamerlane, but for the accident of having been born in the nineteenth century. His sway is a reaction against the laxity of the Chinese Government which he helped to overthrow. In the days of Chinese supremacy disorder and insecurity were general. Now a man may, to repeat a common saying, drop his whip and return and find it in the same place a year later. Such a change has not been effected without much severity. Executions have been frequent. Espionage is as prevalent as under the Second Empire. Mutilation is a punishment often resorted to. No private person may possess a firearm or a sword without express permission. Ladies of rank, who uncover their faces in the street, run as much risk of the heavy blows from the censor's leathern thong as the commonest brawler or drunkard. The civil administration is exercised through local Governors who receive their orders from the Ameer direct. The army, a mixed force of Andjanis, Kipchaks and Kara Kirghiz, Yarkundis and other men of the Altai Shulr, Chinese and Tunganis is also under Yacoob Beg's immediate command.*

Books of travel not unfrequently bring to light similarity of

* Vamberg's *Central Asia*. Pages 322-323.

customs in countries which have not always the tie of kinship to account for it. An Englishman's first impulse is to ask a stranger to dinner. The Bhootanese and the Tibetans have the same fashion, and anybody less facile than Mr. Bogle would probably have sought deliverance from the everlasting tea-drinkings, and the repetition of mutton boiled and minced. The people of Eastern Turkistan are equally hospitable, only they invert the European order of the meal, and begin with sweets and dessert and end with soup. The feminine dress of the Shigatze Killedars recalls the ludicrous petticoats of the Sirdars of Jodhpore when *en grande tenue*. The Bhootanese burn their dead like the Hindus, whose healthy example the nations of Europe are too slowly following; the Tibetans as a rule, like the Parsees, expose their corpses. The reason for the difference of practice in nations of the same religion is to be found in the abundance of fuel in the one country and its scarcity in the other. It is against the Gorkhali's creed to execute a Brahmin, against a Buddhist's to execute any man at all. So in Nepal a peccant Brahmin is sent to the Terai and fed on curds and plantains till he sickens with fever and dies, and in Tibet a criminal is shut up and left to die of starvation. You may tell a well-fed Turkoman by his boots, to which he transfers the surplus grease from his fingers after meals. The hill men of Bhootan do not wear boots adapted for this operation, but they are at one with the Turkomans in licking the platter clean. Does this betoken a common origin at some remote era in the Altai Mountains? The lofty palaces of Bhootan and Tibet with their long galleries, their massive beams, their steep and numerous back stairs, no better than the ladder which leads to an English hay loft, and their doors working on pegs cut out of the planks, which are received into two holes top and bottom, and the ordinary stone cottages of Tibet, substantially built so as to keep out the cold, are repeated in Nepal, and so are the mummers with their antics and their visors resembling the heads of wild animals. The peculiar swing and wooden pile bridges, the latter with road-way formed by successive layers of projecting beams, gradually lessening the distance till only an interval remains which planks of ordinary length can span, seem common throughout the Himalaya. In Tibet the iron suspension bridges vie in length, though not in safety, with the more modern constructions of Europe.

The main object of Mr. Bogle's mission was "to open a mutual and equal communication of trade" between Bengal and Tibet, and to this end he was the bearer of a letter from the Governor-General to the Teshu Lama, proposing a general treaty of amity and commerce; he was supplied with samples of such articles as were

likely to be in request in the country whither he was bound, and was ordered to ascertain what other commodities might be profitably added. The cost of transport was to be carefully noted, and he was to make himself acquainted with the extent of the existing trade and with the manufactures and products, specially those of great value and moderate bulk, which could be given in exchange for British goods. The nature of his route and of the intervening region, the means of communication between Lhasa and neighbouring countries, the different forms of government, the revenues and the manners, the customs and the commerce of the inhabitants, were to receive his attention. If he thought fit he was to arrange for the establishment of a Residency at Lhasa, and if he himself had to come away prematurely he was at liberty to leave agents for the temporary conduct of business till a Resident was appointed. Nor were the interests of natural history and geography overlooked. He was to send specimens of the shawl goat and yak, of rare or valuable seeds and plants, and to inform himself concerning the course and navigation of the* Brahmaputra, and of the condition of the countries through which it flows. To these instructions are appended a memorandum in which Warren Hastings embodied what he knew about Tibet, as the best line for guiding his envoy in further enquiries, and which is a creditable contribution to the literature then existing on the subject. The remark as to the similarity in figure of Persians and Tibetans we commend to Mr. Talboys Wheeler's notice as a possible link in the chain of reasoning with which he proposes to establish the fact of an ethnical connection between Mongols and Rajpoots. Thus instructed, and with the necessary passports and credentials, Mr. Bogle, accompanied by Mr. Alexander Hamilton as his medical attendant, left Calcutta in the middle of May 1774, and travelling by way of Moorshedabad, Dinajpoor and Cooch Behar, reached Tassissudon, the capital of Bhootan, about a month later. With a keen eye to business even in small matters, Warren Hastings had enjoined him to plant potatoes at each halting place in the hills; and according to Mr. Markham, Pundit Nain Singh more than ninety years later saw the results of this forethought in the potatoe gardens round Lhasa. In Nepal, too, we may remark the tuber is a favourite article of food; and our old friend at the top of the Haymarket has his countertype, with more primitive apparatus, in Katmandoo, just as the itinerant pie-man has in Yarkund. At Tassissudon the jealousy of the Chinese Umbas, to whom an Englishman is the incarnation of aggressiveness, caused a

* We assume on the very ample reasons given by Colonel T. G. Montgomerie that the Brahmaputra has its longest and fullest feeder in the

great river of Tibet (Report of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India for 1866-67, pages XCI-XCVI.)

delay of four months. The Regent of Lhasa was their creature, and the Teshu Lama was constrained by them on this occasion to write and deter Mr. Bogle from advancing, an act of obstruction which he explained afterwards and made amends for, as far as his own conduct went. The Deb Raja also urged his return, but was induced, though with reluctance, to refer the matter back again to his religious superior. The delay was not compensated for by the acquisition of much knowledge regarding trade. The place was unfavourable to commercial enquiries, being "monkish to the greatest degree." At length the Teshu Lama's permission to enter Tibet was received and Tassisdon left behind on October 13th. Ten days later the party were within the Tibetan border at Parijong, a place now more generally shown on the maps as Phari. Here they had struck the table-land of Central Asia of which the Himalaya is the southern wall. From this point their route lay over a treeless, cheerless, almost houseless tract, with a gradual descent, after passing the lakes on which Turner subsequently skated, along the valley of the *Painomchu to the Brahmaputra. Not till they reached the valley of Gyangze, well cultivated and full of the whitened villages which hillmen love, was there any relief to the eye, wearied with the bare aspect of the surrounding mountains and the sterility of the plain. The river at the point where they crossed it in a ferry-boat was so sluggish that they lost but little ground between the two banks. Their journey was then nearly at an end, and on the 8th of November they reached the small palace of Desheripgay, near Namling, where the Teshu Lama had been living for three years past, to avoid a long protracted outbreak of small-pox in his capital of Teshu Lumbo.

At this country retreat Mr. Bogle stayed a month. Whilst there he witnessed some of those ceremonies which irresistibly lead to comparisons between the Buddhism of Tibet and the Roman Catholic religion. The mind reverts to the scene at Saint Peter's on Easter-day, as we read of the Teshu Lama seated under a canopy in the court of the palace and a vast crowd around awaiting his blessing. But there are different degrees of blessedness in Tibet, and the Lama Pontiff is quick at distinguishing the priests and superior laymen on whose heads his hand may rest, the nuns and inferior gentry between whose heads and the sacred palm a cloth must be interposed, and the lower orders for whom a touch with a tassel is enough. As the nuns and some orders of the priesthood dress very much alike, the chance of confusion is increased, but how should an incarnation of divinity make a mistake? The similitude in external forms between the two religions, attributable perhaps to imitation of the practices of the Nestorian

* Sometimes called Penanangchu.

Christians, whose settlements in Central Asia were nearly simultaneous with the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, may be further traced in the tonsure, the celibacy of the clergy, and the monastic orders both male and female, the frequent church services, the chanting and intoning, the gorgeous processions, the rite of extreme unction, the prayers for the dead, the mitre* of the Pontiff, the chasubles of the priests, the prostration before the altar, the burning of incense, the rules of discipline and the repetition of litanies "not understood of the people." Doctrinally there is a strong analogy between the system of Buddhist incarnations and the dogma of Apostolic succession. As an instance of what the wit of man can devise, we are inclined to give the preference to the Buddhists' invention, there being to our mind something much higher and purer in the idea of the spirit of a deceased Lama passing without human intervention into the body of a child, than that in which the same result can only be attained by the imposition of hands in the first stage, and by the election of a college of Cardinals in the last. For those who care to consider the analogy further we recommend a comparison of the first five verses of Saint John's Gospel with the Buddhistic account of the manifestation of the word Om.

Early in December 1774, Desheripgay was exchanged for Teshu Lumbo, and there, with the exception of a week's absence on a hunting excursion, Mr. Bogle passed the remaining four months of his sojourn in Tibet. Teshu Lumbo is to the adjacent town of Shigatze what Potala is to Lhasa or the Vatican to Rome. Wisely holding that in the interest of the mission entrusted to him it was his business to conciliate the Teshu Lama, to win his confidence and to gain his consent and support to measures for the development of trade, he made a point of remaining near him. For fear of further misconstruction of his motives at Lhasa he would not even enter the walls of Shigatze. His self-denial was rewarded by frequent intercourse with the Teshu Lama, soon resulting in mutual regard and affection. This man remarkable for his liberal and enlarged views, partly by his own force of character and partly owing to the accident of the Dalai Lama's minority, although comparatively young and not without a rival in the person of the Regent, was at this time the object of universal respect in his own country, his blessing was sought by Buddhist followers from remote parts of Mongolia, and he deemed his influence at the Court of China such that he could obtain commercial privileges for the English in Peking. This belief Mr. Bogle shared, though, as it proved in the end, both were too enthusiastic on the subject. In virtue of

* The Deb Raja of Bhootan wears a hat like a Cardinal's.

his spiritual office the Teshu Lama sought to be the peacemaker amongst his turbulent neighbours, of whom the most aggressive was * Singh Pertab, son of Prithi Narain the Gorkhali usurper in Nepal. His generosity to the poor and to strangers was not wholly disinterested, for, in entertaining the Hindoo and Mahomedan mendicants who flocked to his court, he reaped the worldly advantage of satisfying his curiosity regarding foreign countries and of having his praises sung by his guests on their return to their homes, or in their wandering through other lands. From the knowledge of Hindustani which he had acquired from his mother, a lady of Ladak, he was able to converse directly with Mr. Bogle, who was quite the man to appreciate his power of telling a pleasant story with a great deal of humour and action, and his dislike of empty compliments. "Although venerated as God's Viceregent through all the Eastern countries of Asia, endowed with a portion of omniscience, and with many other divine attributes, he throws aside in conversation all the awful part of his character, accommodates himself to the weakness of mortals, endeavours to make himself loved rather than feared, and behaves with the greatest affability to everybody." And again with a quaint antithesis writes Mr. Bogle, "I endeavoured to find out in his character those defects which are inseparable from humanity, but he is so universally beloved that I had no success, and not a man could find in his heart to speak ill of him." As Captain Turner laid equal stress on the veneration in which this same Lama was held nine years later, Mr. Bogle may, we think, be acquitted of over-partiality in his portrait.

With many expressions of mutual regret and sorrow Mr. Bogle and the Teshu Lama parted from one another in the first week of April, 1775, and the former quickly regaining the route which he had before traversed found himself again at Tassiusudon on May 8th, and after little more than a twelvemonths' absence from British territory he crossed the border into Cooch Behar. We gather that he lost no time in travelling thence to Calcutta so as to communicate personally with the Governor-General, who had already signified thorough approval of his proceedings.

Mr. Manning's narrative suffers by comparison with that of Mr. Bogle. The latter is so genial and accommodating, the former so peevish and so inclined to look on the dark side of things. It is curious that a man of such high education, who had by long residence in Canton been preparing himself to accomplish the dream of his life, should have borne the difficulties of a strange country in so complaining a spirit. As to his grudge

* Prithi Narain conquered the rung, and Jogimara to his father's valley of Katmandoo. Singh Pertab conquests. added Tanahun, Soomeysur, Oopad-

against the Indian Government for giving him no commission, it may be said that, after the complete failure, in a commercial point of view, of Warren Hastings' overtures, Lord Minto was quite justified in not re-opening negotiations; that the temper of Mr. Manning was not so suave and deliberate as becomes an Envoy, and that even if there had not been these objections, the time was not propitious for another venture. Bhootan rejected friendly intercourse, and Nepal was persevering in that course of aggression which at last brought down retribution on her head. It is much to Mr. Manning's credit that, with small private means and without the official position and credentials which, if they are not essential, do so much to smooth a traveller's progress in the East, he managed to overcome Chinese exclusiveness and realize his hope of gazing on the face of the Dalai Lama. His journal is specially valuable for its corroboration of Nain Singh's account of that part of the route which they both have traversed, and therefore by implication of the Pundit's accuracy in regard to other parts of Tibet concerning which he is the sole modern authority.

After much inquiry Mr. Pogle came to the conclusion that there was no likelihood of immediately reviving the trade with Tibet through Nepal. He errs sometimes in his references to current events in the latter country, as when he makes Singh Pertab* to have succeeded to the throne in the year which, as a matter of fact, witnessed his death; but any confusion of names and dates does not affect the main difficulty that the country was in such a disturbed state owing to the encroachments of the Gorkhals as to make it unsafe for merchants; and that there was no prospect of a more peaceful policy being soon adopted. Under these circumstances Mr. Bogle turned his attention to the route through Bhootan. Here he encountered an obstacle in the fact that the trade in valuable commodities was wholly in the hands of the members of Government. Had the Tibetans not been averse to the score of climate and distance to resort to marts in British territory, and had there been a good understanding between Sikkim and

* The Genealogical Table of the Gorkhali Kings of Nepal, is as follows:—

	A. D.	
Prithi Narain	1769-1771.	
Singh Pertab	1771-1775.	
Run Bahadoor	1775-1800 (and a short interval in 1804).	
Girvan Jodh Bikrum	1800-1816 (with exception of the interval above mentioned).	

A. D.

Rajendra Bikrum 1816-1847.
(deposed and still alive)

Saorandra Bikrum 1847.
(the reigning Sovereign)

Mr. Markham is wrong in making Girvan Jodh Bikrum to be the son of Singh Pertab, and in omitting all mention of Run Bahadoor. (See his foot note to page 159).

Nepal, an alternative route to the plains of Bengal through Darjeeling might have been adopted. As circumstances then were, there was no option but to make an arrangement by which British and Tibetan dealers could have direct relations with each other at some place in Bhootan, and the consent of the Deb Raja to this plan, which was a partial blow to the monopoly enjoyed by him and his officers, was gained by the abolition of dues hitherto levied on their caravans in Bengal and by the restriction of trade in such valuable items as sandal-wood, indigo, skins, tobacco, betel-nut and *pán* to the Bhootanese. For the rest, Hindu and Mahomedan merchants, but not Europeans, were to be allowed to pass freely through Bhootan, and to be at liberty to dispose of their goods at Paro, the entrepot which Mr. Bogle selected, or to carry them into Tibet. This was not as great a step in the direction of free trade as Warren Hastings hoped for, but it was all that much negotiation could obtain, and it was more than the Bhootanese, although subsequently bribed by the cession of the districts of Ambari Falacottah and Jalpaish, could be induced to act up to. There was of course every reason to believe that the Teshu Lama would readily agree to any conditions which the Deb Raja accepted. In the negotiations leading up to this point Mr. Bogle seems to have displayed great judgment. His view of the duty of Government in regard to the development of trade is thoroughly sound. "In matters of commerce, I humbly apprehend that freedom and security is (*sic*) all that is required. Merchants left to themselves naturally discover the most proper manner of conducting their trade, and prompted by self-interest carry it on to the greatest extent." His mistake, and we believe that had he not died so soon he would have admitted it, was in considering that a country, which he allowed to be mountainous, barren and thinly-peopled, could maintain a large foreign trade, large enough, that is to say, to add materially to the welfare of the British Empire. The poverty and simple manners of the Bhootanese convinced him that there was no great opening amongst them. The comparative splendour of the Teshu Lama's court may have led him to form an undue estimate of the requirements of the people of Tibet, though his march thither should have acted as a check. It is unfortunate that his tour was not more extended, so that he might have seen the general nakedness of the land which Nain Singh has since so graphically depicted. Only by the custom of the masses is a large trade in foreign goods possible, and this is out of the question in the isolated countries in and about the Himalaya, where the people can depend almost entirely on themselves for the necessaries and comforts of life and have no means, even if they had the inclination, for buying outside luxuries. Such trade as there is owes its *raison d'être*, with very few excep-

tions, to the appetites and tastes of the gentry, who constitute a small minority in these regions. It may be interrupted for long, as it was last century, without disastrous consequences. When the temporary hindrances have disappeared or been removed, it reverts to its old channels and gradually recovers its old amount. The circumstances which called it forth forbid anything but a trifling increase. In the case of the through trade with Tibet our conviction is that it fully recovered itself some twenty-five years ago, and that in the nature of things it has not since increased and never will increase in any appreciable degree.

Mr. Markham, on the contrary, holds that Mr. Bogle's mission laid the foundation of a policy which, if it had since been steadily pursued, would have long ago ensured "permanent results," which expression, by the light of other remarks of his, we interpret to mean a considerable trade. That the issue has been otherwise he attributes to British apathy and Nepalese obstruction. Against this view it may be urged with much force, we think, that Warren Hastings was Governor-General for ten years after Mr. Bogle's return, and that in this time, although three more missions were deputed to Bhootan and a second to Tibet, though the Teshu Lama of Mr. Bogle's acquaintance interceded personally for the British with the Emperor of China, and though Purungir Gosain was established as British agent in Tibet, nothing good in the way of trade was achieved. The merit of Warren Hastings in this affair is that he was a pioneer of a possible trade. He conceived the idea which we now know to have been an exaggerated one, but which there is no doubt that he honestly entertained, that the trade with Tibet might, if properly developed, become the most extensive and lucrative of any inland trade in the world. To the improvement of this trade he gave his close attention during a long tenure of office, never losing any opportunity of communication with Tibet, Bhootan or Peking. Yet, in opposition to what Mr. Markham implies, no material success, that is to say, no marked increase of trade was obtained. There was constant prediction of great profits, but no fulfilment of the prophecy. There were repeated protestations of friendship by the Teshu Lama, but fine words, as the proverb tells us, butter no parsnips. The seed of expectation was sown, but in a barren and dry land, and the consequence was the harvest of disappointment. If the long-sustained efforts of a statesman, on whom the greatest pressure was put to make large remittances, ended in practical failure, what encouragement, what need was there for his successors to follow up the insignificant track when easier and more important openings of trade were becoming available through the extension of the British territories in India? It is pleasanter of course for states, as for individuals, to be on good terms with their neighbours. But so far as commerce is concerned

there can be no gain to British India from friendly intercourse with Tibet, unless at the same time the reserve of her suzerain is overcome. This is a feat which Warren Hastings was never able to accomplish. Exclusiveness is the traditional policy of the Manchu Government. It is true that within the sphere of its influence it has borne and still bears with the presence of Roman Catholic religious of various denominations, but only because their scientific attainments have been useful to itself, or because they have been missionaries of faith, not commerce. It is worthy of notice also, as regards more distant Tibet, that the Chinese Umbas only appeared on the scene a year or so before Desideri left, and that Della Penna had completed about two-thirds of his long sojourn in Lhasa before their arrival. Since 1760 or thereabouts even the holy fathers have only been tolerated in Tibet as travellers. Huc and Gabet were sent away from Lhasa after a month's sojourn. Laymen have fared worse. The nature of Van de Putte's danger, who was at Lhasa from about 1730 to 1736, is clear enough. He was "a chiel takin' notes." In the hope of avoiding detection, he usually wrote on small strips of paper, in a character intelligible only to himself. Mr. Bogle was suspected of being a surveyor, travelling to spy out the nature of the land, so that the Company might have its topographical information ready whenever it found a pretext for invasion. Had he indulged his private wish he would have visited Lhasa. The circumstance of Lieutenant Davis, one of the members of Turner's embassy, belonging to the Bengal Engineers, elicited so strong an objection as compelled him to stay behind in Bhootan. Mr. Manning's position during his last weeks in Lhasa was, if we rightly appreciate his fragmentary notes, very critical. The Moravians, now settled in Lahoul, have tried in vain to obtain a footing in Western Tibet. It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good, so to his repulse at Shipki by villagers, who evidently knew that it was as much as their lives were worth to let an Englishman pass by that way into Tibet, we owe Mr. Wilson's* graphic account of his recent journey along the southern water-shed of the Indus to Cashmere. On the eastern side neither Mr. Edgar, nor, later still, Sir Richard Temple has met with any encouragement to cross the border from Sikkim. On the contrary, the former, in answer to his proposal that he should be invited to Chumbi, was told by the Jongpen of Phari that such a proceeding was quite contrary to his orders, which forbade all intercourse between Tibet and British India. In a letter, of which the genuineness is beyond doubt, and which was in answer to a representation of Mr. Edgar's approach, the Umbas of Lhasa laid down the law plainly

* The Abode of Snow, Chap XVIII.

enough to the Raja of Sikkim. He was to do everything he could, consistently with courtesy, to keep the Englishman from crossing the border, in accordance with old custom and his bounden duty. The new policy of road-making, with which he had conciliated the British Government, was hateful to them, and if he continued to behave in this manner it would not be well with him.

We should deplore this repellent attitude of the Chinese quite as much as Mr. Markham does, if we thought that it had availed to deprive the British nation of a great benefit. But we do not, and this is the point on which we most differ with him. The establishment of a Russian Consul at Urga, on which he depends as an incentive to the British Government to claim a similar post for a representative of its own at Lhasa, has peculiar circumstances to justify it. Urga is a town which commands the line of a trade of which one article is much prized and* universally used in Russia. You might as soon deprive the ordinary Russian of his tea as the ordinary Englishman of his beer. The trade is of old standing, and the knowledge that Chinese influence was waning made the Court of Saint Petersburg in 1870, not only insist upon having a Russian Consul there, but also† a Russian garrison, as a means of protection against the Mahomedan rebels, who were then in the full swing of success. To suggest an analogous case. If Great Britain had for long been dependent on Tibet for all her malt, and if the Kamboos had suddenly defied the control of the Tibetan Government and endangered the safety of the road to Darjeeling, she would have had strong cause for taking a similar step to protect her trade. As a matter of fact Great Britain has never had either directly or indirectly a great trade with Tibet. The articles exchanged have been such as were deemed luxuries by the respective holders, or such as in the nature of things only involved a moderate demand, gold, silver, musk, borax, wool and a few ponies on the one side, woollen and cotton cloths, brocades, silks, cutlery, glass-ware, coral, pearls, spices, sugar, tobacco and indigo on the other. With Nepal the rough blankets, salt, sheep and goats of the north have been exchanged for the rice of the lower valleys. But here, the enthusiast will say, are just the elements for a large trade. Only let British merchants have free communication with Tibet, and success is certain. To this view we demur. To begin with, nature has interposed no slight obstacles. There is no need to go further along the Cashmere and Ladak route than to the foot of the Zogi La, or along the Nepal and Tibet route than to

* Mr. Lumley's Report on the Tea Trade of Russia, pages 1-3. Central Asia, page 314. Yule's Introductory Remarks to Prejevalsky's

† Von Hellwald's Russians in Mongolia, Vol. I., page xxii.

Nayakote, twenty-five miles beyond Katmandoo, in order to understand what are the difficulties. In the one case there are some miles along the bed of the Sind, as you approach Sonamurg, which Mr. Moorcroft described* as a very hard and scabrous ascent obstructed by blocks of stone and dangerous from frequent slips and over which the baggage of Dr. Henderson† was, notwithstanding the precautions taken for the comfort of the mission to which he belonged, delayed for several days. On the second route to which we have referred, three mountain passes have to be surmounted, over which sheep and goats are the only beasts that can be used for loads. The track is too steep, too treacherous, too narrow at times even for mules, and the climate too relaxing for yaks. Practically, except for rice and salt, men and women bear all the burdens. In Sikkim the Jelep La offers easier gradients. Yet, simply for bridges and a bridle-track to this point, Mr. Edgar estimated an expenditure of, at least half a lac of rupees. The descriptions of various travellers, beginning with Mr. Bogle, and ending with Mr. Eden, leave no room for doubting the difficulties of the Paro route through Bhootan. Beyond the points indicated there are, in the case of the routes to Eastern Turkistan, elevated passes to be crossed, some of which involve the transfer of loads from horses or mules to yaks, and one, the Sanju Pass,‡ is hard for yaks even, and there are besides the discomforts of desert uplands, swollen streams, and the risk of suffocating whirlwinds to encounter. For seven or eight stages continuously grass is scarce and water bad. In his first journey Mr. Forsyth, Envoy though he was, only just avoided starvation for his camp followers. From Katmandoo onwards there is the choice between the Kerong and the Kuti routes. The first leads through a bare and rocky country to the most desolate province of Tibet; the second follows for twenty-five miles or so the gorge of the Bhotia Kosi, and for this distance is always bad for weak nerves, and culminates, for a third of a mile, in a pathway never more than eighteen inches wide and sometimes as little as nine inches, of stone slabs supported by iron bars driven into the face of the precipice at a height of about 1,500 feet above the roaring torrent! The Sikkim and Bhootan routes are easy compared with the others, and they have the advantage of leading directly towards the capital of Tibet. The four routes above referred to we have chosen, because there is ample information on record concerning them, and because they all are used by native

* *Moorcroft's Travels*, Vol. II., page 98.

† *Lahore to Yarkund*, page 33.
Dr. Henderson was a member of the first mission to Yarkund.

‡ See Dr. Scully's account in *Stray Feathers*, Vol. IV., 1876. He crossed it twice, and saw yaks slipping on each occasion.

traders, as much, we believe, as any alternative routes in the countries which they traverse. It might of course be possible to find better substitutes. The line of the Bagmutty at once occurs as likely to give an easier passage into Nepal. In Bhootan Mr. Bogle believed that a more level road might be made along the course of the Pachu Chinchu. But he saw also that there was a policy is not facilitating the entrance to the country. Independently, however, of the argument dear to hillmen that the mountains are their fortifications, which the men of Sikkim would act up to as heartily as their neighbours if they were equally independent, the question arises whether the prospects of increasing traffic are such as to warrant a large expenditure on engineering. We think not. Mr. Fitch's and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's statements as to the existence of a flourishing trade between India and Tibet through the passes of Nepal and Bhootan from the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century must be taken with a little caution. The former wrote on hearsay, viewing *omne ignotum pro magnifico*. The latter's stay in Nepal was * too short, and his means of acquiring information too limited for him to be credited with more than good intentions in his references to the circumstances of past days. The lists of both, as also that of Della Penna, whose opportunities were greater, relate mainly to luxuries. The *laudator temporis acti* has not an unpleasant rôle, but in the absence of trustworthy statistics his general statements on the prosperity of arts, agriculture and commerce must be taken for what they are worth. Nearly thirty years later the same want of accurate records made it impossible for Mr. Brian Hodgson to give more than an approximate idea of the existing trade, and even he with all the advantages which personal aptitude for research, long residence in the country, and official position gave him, subsequently allowed that he had† reason to believe that he had over-estimated the trading capital of Nepal by one-third. The error is easily explained. The Nepalese Government keeps no record of exports and imports. Consequently Mr. Hodgson had no other source of information than "the conjectural estimates of old and respectable merchants" as to the total amount, and no better check on their statements than that which a rough calculation upon the amounts of duties and exemptions from duties afforded of the aggregate value of the trade. His figures

* The treaty which admitted of Captain Knox going to Katmandoo as Resident was ratified by the British Government at the end of October 1801, and by the Nepalese Durbar a year later. Captain Knox left Katmandoo for good in March

1803. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton accompanied him. Except at the beginning, the aversion of the Durbar to their presence was very marked. (*Aitchison's Treaties*, Vol. ii, pages 189 and 205.)

† *Essays*, part ii, page 92.

show that, in 1831, the commerce of Nepal was worth about thirty-three lacs of Company's rupees a year, which amount, in the opinion of his informants, was triple that of 1816. This seems to prove that, from the time when their defeat by the British put a limit to the Gorkhalis' dominions, the trade had gradually been reviving. Of the total value of the trade in 1831, that between British territory and Tibet through Nepal was worth about * six lacs of rupees, for which, as Sir John Lawrence said of the trade with Eastern Turkistan, a railway train once a year would suffice, and it is clear from Mr. Hodgson's † remarks that the extension of the through traffic was not hindered by prohibitive duties on the part of Nepal. From small beginnings great results sometimes flow. But this is not the case with Trans-Himalayan trade. The present information concerning Trans-Himalayan countries is much more detailed and trustworthy than that which Mr. Hodgson could command. Independently of the inherent difficulties of the road, it is now ‡ known that in Ameer Yacoub Beg's territories popula-

* This is worth noticing because Mr. Markham lays much stress on the importance of the through trade with Tibet. The tabular statements appended to Mr. Brian Hodgson's Essay on the commerce of Nepal (*Essays*, Part ii. p.p. 105-120), are a little confusing at first sight, but the following results concerning the through trade can be gathered from them;—

Value at Katmandoo of imports from British territory destined for Northern Nepal and Tibet, including duties, cost of carriage, and 30 per cent. profit up to Katmandoo.

Nepalese Rs. Co's. Rs.
8,56,900 = 2,97,416

Value at Katmandoo of imports from Northern Nepal and Tibet destined for British territory, including cost of carriage and duties (profit not stated.)

4,14,700 = 3,45,583

7,71,600 = 6,42,999

As to the distribution of British wares between Northern Nepal and Tibet nothing can be deduced from the papers. Of the imports thence for British territory, articles to the value of Nepalese Rs. 27,000 (= Company's Rs. 22,500) are from Northern Nepal, which is included in the term Bhote and signified by the term Kachar. We shall

therefore not be far wrong in putting the Katmandoo valuation of the through trade at about six lacs of Company's rupees.

The balance, it will be seen, is apparently against Northern Nepal and Tibet, but an equilibrium is maintained by the importation thither of the rice of Central Nepal, which is not included in Mr. Hodgson's tables.

Mr. Hodgson says that the real value of Nepalese rupees is as 135 to 100 Company's rupees. But he turns Nepalese into Company's rupees in the proportion of 120 to 100, which was in his time and still is the average market rate at Katmandoo.

† "At all events 8 per cent. will amply cover all Custom House charges within the Nepalese dominions." *Essays*, Part ii, page 96.

‡ "My personal observation leads me to the belief that this one million and fifteen thousand is very considerably above the actual numbers which a proper census would disclose, as the true population of the country in the possession of the Amfr as defined in the preceding pages, and I have been enabled to form this estimate for the whole country from experience of its western divisions.

"Two circumstances conspire to mislead the mere traveller in his

tion is sparse and cultivation only possible in the neighbourhood of rivers, that the people are fairly well off in the matter of food clothes and lodging, and consequently are independent of foreign piece-goods, which is the commodity that British merchants specially desire to find new markets for. * It is also very doubtful whether with a larger accumulation of wealth an equilibrium in trade could be established, the greater part of the articles which could be given in exchange being too bulky or of too little value

calculations. One is the sudden transition from a region of solitude and desolation to another of society and habitation; and the other is the striking contrast between the desert wastes around and the flourishing settlements that spread far and wide between them. Thus the traveller approaching the country from the south has to cross a vast uninhabited region utterly devoid of trees and verdure; and after ten or twelve days of such desolation, he suddenly plunges into a flourishing settlement, extending over as many miles along a river course, and thickly planted with trees in all its extent. His first impression is one of dense population and plenty, but a closer investigation shows him that abundance of trees does not necessarily prove numbers of population; and he discovers that the houses are widely scattered either as single homesteads or in clusters of two or three together; and if he counts them, he will find that within a radius of a couple of miles all round hardly fifty tenements are visible. He quits this settlement in his onward journey and, whichever way he goes, he traverses a wide waste of blank desert to the next which, may be, is a market town and entered on market day. He here finds a closely-packed and busy crowd blocking the streets with their numbers; and extricating himself from their midst, he goes his way impressed by the density and activity of the population. But if he halts here, he will find the illusion dispelled. The morrow, instead of a struggling and jostling crowd, will show him lonesome streets with long rows of silent forges, empty

cook-shops, deserted grocers' stalls, and the tenantless sheds of the shoemaker, hatter and draper; and if he enquires, he will learn that the multitude of yesterday is dispersed far and wide over this and the adjoining settlements till next week's market-day brings them together again.

"I have no data on which to base an approximate estimate of the area of land under cultivation in each division; but considering the limited water-supply and the barren nature of the soil, and comparing the spreads of cultivation with those of other countries where the population is known, it does not appear to me that the soil is capable of feeding the alleged population in the western divisions of the country which I have seen, particularly if it is borne in mind, that they are entirely self-supporting and receive no extraneous supplies of bread stuffs and similar food. It is for these reasons that I am disposed to estimate the actual normal population at a lower figure than that produced by the reckoning in the time of the Chinese as above given, and independent of the great diminution that is said to have occurred by the war losses and massacres attending the revolution that overthrew their rule, and transferred the possession of the country to other hands." (Dr. Hellew in the Report of the Second Mission to Yarkund in 1873, p.p. 62, 63.)

* In Nepal, which is comparatively close, it pays the masses better to import raw cotton and make a strong home-spun cloth of it, than to import the less durable and higher-priced fabrics of English and Bombay mills.

to be worth the heavy cost entailed by long and toilsome inland transport. The local circumstances of Tibet are even worse. In the North-West of that country from Shipki as far as Sarka the population is, with the exception of a few villages, a few monastic communities and a few gold-diggers, nomad and scanty, for the simple reason that the soil at that height is unfavourable to agriculture. The insignificant town of Sarka,² lying almost due north of Katmandoo, has to get all its grain over the mountains from the distant marts of Kerong and Jongkajong. The large monastery of Tadam, further to the west, is at an equal disadvantage. A more flourishing tract is that which includes Shigatze, Gyangze and the villages to the southward, but the population of the whole can be conjectured from the fact that, ten years ago, the inhabitants of those two towns and their environs, priests included, were estimated by Nain Singh at about twenty-five thousand. The population of Lhasa with its surrounding monasteries is under forty thousand, and there is so far no reason to believe in the existence of more populous settlements further to the east. Then as to the products and the requirements of the country. The wool which is doubtless to be had in any quantity could not on account of the cost of carriage compete with the Australian staple. There is a nearer and equally boundless field for ghee in the Terai of Nepal, where hundreds of thousands of cows graze yearly. The sheep and cattle of the Tibet highlands pine when taken to the lower valleys of Nepal, and would certainly not fare better in the greater heat of Hindustan. This disposes of what Mr. Markham rightly calls the real wealth of Tibet. There remain such articles as musk, the demand for which is strictly limited, and indeed for that matter the supply also, and * gold, found only on such lofty and remote plains as render it impossible, we believe, to ensure a really large out-turn. The hardships to those inured to them from infancy are so great that probably no adventurers from other countries could bear them and if they could the difficulty of feeding them is apparently insuperable. Even if gold were forthcoming in abundance what has Great Britain to give in exchange that Tibet wants? A little more rice and a few more spices would satisfy the aspirations of a people who can boast what we cannot on behalf of our labouring classes at home, that they are warmly clad, snugly housed according to their ideas, and have unlimited mutton milk and whisky. Unless indeed, anti-Malthus like, we are to take up our parable against polyandry and celibacy, the nature of the check on over-population, in which case we shall

* Our reference is to the Tibetan, tion as compared with the former not the Khoten gold fields. The and the out-turn is much more considerable under present circumstances. The latter are at a very moderate elevation.

find it no easy task to overthrow the institutions of centuries, or when overthrown, to provide the extra mouths with their due quota of albuminous food. Then, when we have surmounted these obstacles and gold in return for grain unlimited is a drug in the market, we shall have the satisfaction of saying that we are unprofitable servants, for we shall have disturbed the exchanges as much as the mines of Nevada are doing now.

There is something to be said against Mr. Markham's sweeping condemnation of Jung Bahadoor's fiscal policy. In 1839 an engagement * was concluded by which the Nepalese delivered an authentic statement of the duties leviable in Nepal, that is, † Nepal Proper and the main route thither, and agreed not to levy unauthorized imposts not entered in that paper on British subjects. The authorized duties range from 7 to 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, being somewhat in excess of the rates that obtained in 1831, which, considering that the engagement was negotiated by Mr. Brian Hodgson, is rather curious. There have been occasional attempts at evasion; but, on the whole, the Durbar has been true to the obligation which it then incurred. The inviolability of treaties in time of peace has not yet been assured amongst Western nations, as Russia's conduct in repudiating the Black Sea Clause of the Treaty of Paris during the Franco-German war, and more recent differences in regard to the Extradition Treaty between Great Britain and America prove. * It is to be regretted, we think, that the compact with Nepal was not made of general application, and we can only conceive that it was restricted to the particular route with which it deals because that is the one chiefly used for the through traffic between Bengal and Tibet. If trade along it had been habitually hampered in recent times by unauthorized exactions, we should have expected, as British subjects are largely engaged in it and conduct many of their operations from the important centre of Patna, to hear complaints in the press. But this has not been the case, and therefore we are compelled to conclude that Mr. Markham has generalized on insufficient grounds. If the charge can be substantiated, we are quite at one with him in wishing to see a less short-sighted policy introduced. As to his opinion that less taxation would be required if the army of Nepal were reduced and that the administration of the country does not call for so large a force as is now maintained the same might be said of almost every country in Europe. Provided that it is moderate in amount, the taxation of trade in Nepal is as defensible as the levying of sea customs by the Indian Government, and much more defensible than the latter's in-

* *Aitchison's Treaties*, vol. II, pages 212-219. about one-fifth or four hundred thousand persons of the whole population

† By Nepal Proper is meant the valley of Katmaundoo, which contains the territories under the Government of Nepal.

land salt revenue ; and it is just possible that the shrewd minister, who ignored the overtures of rebel courts and compelled his wavering colleagues to espouse the British cause in the mutiny, knows the requirements of his country better than the sagest of arm-chair philosophers. Till more civilized nations, by ceasing to distrust one another, do away with the chief reason for national debts and huge standing armies, an Oriental potentate may be excused if he takes the same measures as they for ensuring the integrity of the territories for which he is responsible. Only twenty years have passed since the neighbouring kingdom of Oudh was annexed, and the fear of annexation, which may seem ridiculous to the English critic who is convinced that that policy can never recur, is still the *bête noire* of the Gorkhali—as fond of his country as any Swiss—whose prejudices Jung Bahadoor is fain to respect. And, we may add, there are certain instincts of race which no statesman can afford to overlook. If Lord Beaconsfield were to attempt to substitute Imperialism for constitutional Government in England, the consequences to himself at any rate would be very unpleasant. So with Jung Bahadoor if he tried to make his countrymen, who are the largest element in the Nepalese army, turn their swords into pruning hooks. By origin, by long continuous service and by preference, the Gorkhals are a martial people. Gurungs, Muggurs, Limbos and Kerantis might be relegated to industrial occupations, but any endeavour to deprive the Gorkhals of a military career, would involve the risk, we may say the certainty, of a *pronunciamento*. The only practicable check on their numbers in the ranks has been in force for generations. It is founded on the same principle of short service, coupled with the obligation on those who have completed the period of training to return to duty in case of need, as enabled Scharnhorst to make an armed nation of Prussia. By it every Gorkhali has his turn in the army for a few years, and then makes room for another of the family, himself going back to superintend the cultivation of the little rent-free estate, which though annually renewed in the name of the individual actually under arms, is practically the State's means of satisfying the whole family.

Of the remainder of Mr. Markham's work we regret that we cannot write in terms of unqualified approval. The chorus of praise in his honour which re-appears every month on the cover of the *Geographical Magazine* would have been more valuable if the knowledge of his critics had not been so palpably limited to the contents of the book that they were reviewing. An exception is needed in favour of the index. That is very good, as good as the index to Sir Henry Rawlinson's recently published *Essays* is bad. Otherwise there is much room for improvement. The truth seems to be that Mr. Markham attempts too much. His public duties in

the Geographical Department of the India Office cannot be light, and to them he has added of late years the important labour of editing a *Geographical Magazine*. As though the latter pursuit was not sufficient to occupy his leisure he has published several works of a less fugitive character, each of which demanded, if it has not received, much general reading and long-sustained attention. His happiest effort in the path of literature was the editing of the narrative of Clavijo's Embassy. The general sketch of the history of Persia is so wanting in method and accuracy as to be nearly useless for the purposes of reference for which it was intended. Our suspicion after reading it that Mr. Markham had too many irons in the fire is strengthened by his last production. The discovery of Mr. Bogle's and Mr. Manning's papers was doubtless very welcome to him, but the public was not in such a hurry for them as to make it worth his while to be constantly careless and inaccurate. And this is just what has happened. His shortcomings are the less pardonable because he constantly shows by his references that he has had access to sources of correct information. If he had allowed himself more time, Mr. Markham was quite capable of arranging Mr. Bogle's materials more skilfully, so as to have avoided repetition, and to have given greater continuity to the narrative than he has done. However, this is a minor fault, which involves no more serious consequences than patience on the part of the reader, who, if he is balked of information at a point where he might have reasonably expected to find it, will come upon it later if he pursues the even tenor of his way. What we have more especially to complain of is the tendency to repetition in the notes, the frequent mistakes in fact, unreasonable assumptions in regard to questions involving doubt, an erroneous way of describing the configuration of the Himalaya, and rash drawing in parts of his general map. Did it never occur to Mr. Markham that it is not usual to open a volume like his on Tibet at random and to read a few pages here and there without regard for what has gone before? Yet, only on his supposition of such eccentricity can we explain the constant recurrence of such notes as that Demojong's country means Sikkim, and that Seling stands for Sining, and so on. It was quite right, in the interests of the general reader, who might be presumed to have little previous knowledge of the subject, to enlighten him once at the earliest opportunity on such points. But it was just as much incumbent on the editor to assume that his readers would have sense enough to read the book regularly from beginning to end, and that their intellects were equal to the strain of remembering an explanatory note.

The subject of Buddhist cosmogony and religion is not the simplest in the world, and there was no particular reason why Mr. Markham should have dealt with it. The exigencies of the case

would have been met if he had briefly explained the relative position and functions of the Dalai and Teshu Lamas without troubling himself as to their successive incarnations. But having undertaken to trace their origin he should have done so clearly and correctly. He begins by stating that, subsequently to the transfer of their original scriptures to Ceylon, it had been revealed to the Buddhists of India "that their lord had created the five Dhyani or celestial Buddhas, and that each of these had created five Buddhisatwas or beings in the course of attaining Buddhahood. The Tibetans took firm hold of this phase of the Buddhist creed, and their distinctive belief is that the Buddhisatwas continue to remain in existence for the good of mankind by passing through a succession of human beings from the cradle to the grave." Even if this statement were substantially accurate, which it is not, the wording is not in conformity with the technical phraseology of the Buddhist schoolmen, between which and the language of the Athanasian Creed the curious may find many points of resemblance. From Adi Buddha the great self-existent (Swayambhu) wrapt in religious meditation proceeded*, according to the older and more orthodox authorities, five Dhyani Buddhas. The term Dhyani has here the special sense of divine to distinguish it from the Manushi or human Buddhas who have attained to Nirvana by their own efforts. The five Dhyanis each begot one, not five,† Buddhisatwa (literally the principle of goodness of a follower of Buddha) whose relation to their author is considered as that of father to son, thus :

<i>Dhyani.</i>		<i>Boddhisatwas.</i>
1.—Vairochana	begot	1.—Samanta Bhadra.
2.—Akshobhya	"	2.—Vajra Pani.
3.—Ratna Sambhava	"	3.—Ratna Pani.
4.—Amitabha	"	4.—Pudma Pani.
5.—Amogha Siddha	"	5.—Viswa Pani.

There is again a distinction between Dhyani and Manushi Buddhisatwas, which we need not pursue, our business being with the former only, as successively the active authors of creation. Three systems of creation have passed away, and the three first Buddhisatwas who originated them, their terrestrial occupation being at an end, are engrossed with the worship of Swayambhu. The fourth Buddhisatwa, Pudma Pani, now controls this present universe of his making. His special invocation "Om mani pudme hum" the Lord's Prayer of the Buddhist world, the countless repetition of which is so essential to the attainment of absolute bliss, that mechanical appliances have been invented to supplement the

* A later enumeration gives six Dhyanis and six Buddhisatwas (*Brian Hodgson's Essays I*, page 29). † We prefer Buddhisatwa to Buddhisatwa.

outpourings of the human voice; combines the mystic word, in which was manifest the first ray of light to primeval chaos, with an allusion to his own genesis through the lotus flower, the symbol of perfection. When Pudma Pani's system of creation has disappeared, his functions of creator and governor will devolve on the fifth and last Boddhisatwa. Mr. Markham's next blunder is, in connection with the incarnation of the puritan Tsongkhapa, to represent Amitabha on one page as a Dhyani Buddha and on the next as a Boddhisatwa, the former, as we have shown, being the right designation. But there is worse confusion than this. Geduntubpa, who must henceforth be deemed old Parr's rival in the posthumous honours of longevity, is represented to have been a contemporary of Tsongkhapa, and like him a great reformer. It is said that he was the incarnation of Pudma Pani, that on his death he abandoned the attainment of Buddhahood, that is final absorption in Buddha, in order to benefit mankind by being born again and again, and that in him commenced the succession of incarnations still peculiar to the Tibetan hierarchy, that his first four successors were Teshu Lamas only, but that the fifth, Navang Lobsang, became by the nomination of the Emperor of China, about the year 1650, first Dalai Lama as well, and that since his time there have been two great incarnations of equal rank "the Dalai Lama at Potala, who is an incarnation of the Boddhisatwa Avalokiteswara and the Teshu 'Lama at Teshu Lumbo, the incarnation of the Boddhisatwa Amitabha." In this statement there is this in the first instance to perplex the inexperienced reader that Geduntubpa, of whom the line of Teshu Lamas are said to be the successive incarnations, and in whose fifth incarnation, in the person of Navang Lobsang Teshu Lama, the subsequently separate dignity of Dalai Lama is said to have originated, is represented as an incarnation of Pudma Pani; whilst directly afterwards the incarnation of Dalai Lama is attributed to an apparently different Boddhisatwa named Avalokiteswara, and that of Teshu Lama to Amitabha. The explanation of this seeming contradiction is that through Pudma Pani an incarnation can be traced back a step further to Amitabha, and that Avalokiteswara is another name for Pudma Pani. But this information Mr. Markham omits to give, and it is not a *sine quâ non* that all his readers should have the previous knowledge requisite for understanding his elliptical sentences, or that they should have by their side such means of reference as would enable them to solve the difficulty. In the second place we should be glad to know on what authority Mr. Markham ascribes cotemporaneous existence and reform to Tsongkhapa and Geduntubpa. He so often gives his authorities that we regret the specific omission in the present instance. His date for the former's life is from 1358 to 1419, and for the latter's from 1339 to 1474 A.D. Prodigious,

as Dominie Sampson says! A different view, based on the researches of such eminent authorities as Koppen, Desgodins and Mayers, is that the spirit of Tsongkhapa passed on his death in 1419, a date agreeing with Mr. Markham's, into dGedungrubpa, which is the Tibetan rendering for Mr. Markham's most old and reverend signor—and that whether or not intended by Tsongkhapa the chain of incarnations of himself beginning with * dGedungrubpa was a most important result of his reforms.

We turn now to more recent and simple topics in regard to which Mr. Markham might easily have been exact. Grueber, Desideri and Della Penna did not, as he says, visit Lhasa in the fifteenth and sixteenth, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On one page we are told that Mr. Manning returned to India from Lhasa in 1811, and on another in 1812. The latter is the correct date. The Mohari rupee of Nepal is equal to $13\frac{1}{2}$ (not $13\frac{1}{3}$) of the Company's, not of the sicca rupee. The *kurs*, or *kuras*, is a silver ingot, shaped like a boat and stamped with a Chinese inscription. It has not and never had a fixed value, but varies with the price of silver. Colonel Richard Lawrence, having been the representative of the British Government in Nepal for more than five years, may see no particular reason why his name should be omitted from the list of Residents. The river immediately to the east of the Kurnali is the Bheri, not Bhei; and that which Mr. Markham calls the Sarju is more commonly called the Babai, to distinguish it from the Sarju of Kumaon, which rises above Almorah and, uniting with the Ramgunga, flows into the Kali or Sardah below Petoraghur. Motikaree is in Chumparun, not Sarun. In the invocation of Pudma Pani, pudmi should be written pudme, the inflection being that of the locative case in Sanscrit, and Om should be translated Oh God, not merely Oh. Depen and Depon cannot both be right. The proper termination is pen, a lord or commander or master, as in Jongpen (Jong fort and pen master=châtelain or castellan). Depen means the man who has authority over a village. The accurate transliteration would be Jhwangpwen and Dhepwen. Chaudhari and Chaunteriah have †

* dGedungrubpa's incarnation, according to Koppen, lasted till 1476, thus fulfilling an average human lifetime.

† Chaudhari is from *Chau*, four, and *Dhri* to hold, that is, a holder of four shares. There are two versions of the origin of Chaunteriah. The one is from Chautara or Chabutara, a platform. When the Rajpoot ancestors of the present Gorkhalis settled in the hills the chiefs distinguished their houses from those of their clansmen by a raised

platform in front, usually under trees. As all had to build here and there on uneven ground this was the device adopted for indicating the more important persons' residences. Hence the chief became styled amongst his people the Chautara Sahib, or master of the platform. In time the eldest son of the Chief was called Sahib Ji, and the younger ones Chautara Sahibs, and thence the corruption of Chaunteriah. The other explanation is, that the word is derived from *Chau* four

little in common. The one word means primarily the headman of a trade, the second signifies a collateral member of the royal family of Nepal. A mandate from a Governor-General for protection and liberty of trade on behalf of foreigners is rightly styled a *perwanah* by Mr. Bogle, and the vernacular word is wrongly interpreted by Mr. Markham to mean on that occasion a permit or custom house pass. It is as incorrect to call the dominant race of Nepal Gorkhas as to call a Lancastrian a Lancashire. Gorkha is the name of a town and district, Gorkhali is an inhabitant thereof, or descendant of such inhabitant. Mr. Bogle's Kambu Prince may be explained as certainly, not probably, hailing from * Kam, the great eastern division of Tibet. Jung Bahadoor has been honoured with the first, not the second, class of the order of the Bath, and though with powers as extensive as any *Maire de Palais* he is only Prime Minister, not Sovereign, of Nepal. In the face of his readiness to admit English sportsmen into the Terai, of his courtesy to such English gentlemen as have been inclined to visit Katmandoo, of his active help in the mutiny when even a neutral attitude would have been valuable, of his general observance of treaty obligations, of his care for the people in time of scarcity, of his opposition to *suttee* and punishments involving mutilation, of his bestowing an English education on his sons, and of his recent welcome to the Prince of Wales, it is an exaggeration to say that "he maintains a policy of more than Chinese exclusiveness and obstruction, and that he is an enemy to civilizing progress." His country is not the vassal of the Celestial Empire. The dependence was never during the present century much more than nominal, and the last sign of it disappeared five years ago, when the quinquennial Embassy to Peking was abolished. To write in successive paragraphs that the wars of the British Government with Nepal and Bhootan were waged not for any broad imperial end, but on account of some petty squabble about boundaries, that the Nepalese Durbar from 1804 indulged in a martial and turbulent policy involving a system of encroachment and menace along the frontier, and that the permanent results of the war of 1814-16 were good, seems hardly consistent. The integrity of boundaries is everywhere regarded as a subject of

and *Tri* to cross the ocean. In the Raj Niti there are four things essential to the man who is entrusted with the management of State affairs, to wit, conciliation, presents, chastisement and the power of causing misunderstanding amongst the members of the enemy's party. The eldest son, who inherited the throne, was not to trouble himself with any affair of State, and hence the management de-

volved on his younger brothers, who acted as Ministers. With such duties the knowledge of politics was incumbent on them, and hence they were called Chaunteriahs, that is those who have crossed the four oceans of the essentials named above.

* Strange to say there is a small Kambu settlement in Ladak. (*Drew's Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, page 242.)

paramount importance, and their protection a valid reason for war, when diplomatic action has failed to bring an offending neighbour to his senses. To say that the course taken by Lord Cornwallis at the time of the Chinese invasion of Nepal in 1792 brought about the Nepal war,* is to ignore the simple and sufficient reason which Mr. Markham, as shown above, has given for the resort to hostilities. The Governor-General refused the military help which the Gorkhalis implored, and offered to mediate between the belligerents; but long before his Envoy could arrive on the scene, a peace disadvantageous to Nepal had been concluded, and Colonel Kirkpatrick, though he carried out his mission in the hope of improving commerce, effected nothing by it. Later came the perfectly distinct mission of Captain Knox, ending with indignities which led to his recall and the dissolution of the alliance. We have always been of opinion that, at this juncture, it would have been wiser politically and financially to keep on the Residency, with such a show of force as would have ensured respect for it. The withdrawal of this check left the Gorkhalis free to violate the border and to impede trade, and the eventual cost of restoring the old state of things was much greater than that which an addition to the Resident's escort, and the permanent establishment of a *corps d'observation* along the border would have entailed. If there was any weakness it was on the part of Lord Wellesley, not of Lord Cornwallis.

To resume the thread of our corrections. Mr. Brian Hodgson is not the only Englishman, except Dr. Hooker, who has ever been allowed to travel in Nepal beyond a circuit of twenty miles round Katmandoo, nor we fancy would the general reader understand that "a trip to the Kosi river" meant in reality a trip some thirty miles beyond Katmandoo to the Indrawati, an affluent of the Sun-kosi, which is itself only an affluent of the Arun, the chief stream of the Kosi system. Mr. Brian Hodgson's achievement, and it was a great one, was that he contended for greater freedom of movement for the gentlemen of the Residency, and it is due to his success that subsequent Residents have not only trodden in his footsteps, but have also penetrated to places more distant than those which he attained to. The intimation that Mr. Hodgson prevented a rupture with Nepal throughout the period of the Afghan war is news to us, for we had been led by Mr. Aitchison, in whose impartiality we have the highest faith, to believe that the fear of the British arms alone prevented an outbreak, and that even the proximity of our troops did not put a stop to intrigue.* This is hardly a tribute to the power of personal influence, nor would supersession have been a worthy

* Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. II, pages 192-193.

return for the successful exercise of it. The true reason for Mr. Hodgson's withdrawal may, we think, be ascertained by any one who will be at the pains of reading between the lines of such part of a late memoir of Sir Henry Lawrence as relates to that most distinguished diplomatist's tenure of office in Nepal. For the confusion about the Lepchuk Mr. Markham cannot be blamed. We may, however, take the opportunity of giving an accurate account of this little-known mission. Every third year a *Kâfila*, consisting of two hundred and seventy horse or yak loads leaves Ladak for Lhasa, and for that exact number of loads carriage is supplied by the Tibetan Government from Gar to Lhasa on the outward journey, and on the return from Lhasa to the first abode of men, whether houses or tents, in Ladak. The goods from Ladak are dried apricots in great abundance, saffron, orris root, which is used as incense, currants, chintz and other kinds of European piece-goods, and the articles brought back in exchange are shawl wool, and tea. The leader of the Lepchuk must be a Tibetan of Ladak, and is always chosen from a family of rank. The profits of the undertaking are shared between the Cashmere Government and the leader's family; and on account of the wealth which it brings in, the post of leader, though only held once, is eagerly sought. There are formalities as to congratulatory letters and presents to the chief members of the Tibetan Government, and return compliments of a similar nature to the Maharaja and his principal officers, the details of which are rigidly laid down, and as rigidly observed. The cost of carriage being so much greater, on account of the distance, to the Tibetan than to the Cashmere Government, the former recoups itself by a yearly venture of the same number of loads as in the triennial mission, but quite independent of it, which the Maharaja conveys at his own expense within his own border. The interchange of letters and gifts is as much *de rigueur* as on the other occasion.

It is a pure assumption that the Calmucs whom Mr. Bogle described as taking advantage of their visits to the Teshu Lama's shrines, to bring furs and other Siberian goods for sale were Manchurians. Independent testimony shows that Mr. Bogle may generally be relied on, so we prefer to believe that in the present case he means what he says, and that he refers to the remnant of the Eleuths of the Thian Shan and of the Dzungarian Calmucs, to the Torguts about Lake Balkash and the Torbats around Kokonor, whose geographical position would naturally bring them under the spiritual sovereignty of the Teshu Lama, as that of the remote Manchurians would under the spiritual sovereignty of the Tara Nath Lama at Urga. Equally unfounded also is the assumption that Mr. Bogle, when he writes of "the people" or

the natives or the Bhootanese as obstructive to the development of trade, as he does on various occasions, means the officials. This may or may not be his meaning. He saw so much of all kinds of folk that he may reasonably have believed himself justified in generalizing about them, or, through the priests, who keep up a steady intercourse with their families, he might have formed no inadequate opinion of popular feeling, just as in Nepal the army can be trusted as the exponent of the sense of the community. Certainly there is nothing in Mr. Bogle's writings to show that the people either in Tibet or Bhootan cordially took his part.

We now come to the subject of physical geography. Mr. Markham holds that "the Himalayan system is composed of three great culminating chains, running more or less parallel to each other for their whole length, from the gorge of the Indus to that of the Dihong." These chains he calls the inner or Northern, the Central and the outer or Southern. He also sees a most remarkable analogy between this mass of mountains and that of the Andes, a section of which he traversed some years ago. As it is undesirable to apply to the whole a name which belongs only to a part, we would suggest for the whole of the mountainous tract, which Mr. Markham designates Himalayan, the phrase Indo-Tibetan system, and as inner and outer are words which are likely to lead to confusion, we recommend that they be abandoned altogether. If there are three chains, the appropriate terms for them are clearly Northern, Southern and Central, and nothing else. We had thought that this theory of three chains had long ago been exploded by Mr. Brian Hodgson and other great authorities who have the advantage over Mr. Markham of having studied the question on the spot, and who maintain that the so-called southern chain, being occasionally intersected by rivers of more remote origin, is not a chain at all, but a series of spurs running southwards from an extended line of elevation more to the north, in the neighbourhood of which the said rivers rise. Of this difference Mr. Markham disposes by saying, that it is not a question of fact, but of nomenclature. This is not a satisfactory rejoinder. If the object of nomenclature be, as we conceive it should be, to establish identity of expression amongst scientific geographers, and to convey to the general reader a clear idea of that portion of nature which is being described and of the principle which regulates its aspect, it is of high importance that words of unsuitable meaning or doubtful application should not be used. Holding this opinion we object to the loose phraseology which professional writers not unfrequently adopt. We regard Mr. Markham as an offender in this respect when he writes, that a consideration of the "similar facts relating to other great mountain

masses, such as the chains or Cordilleras of the Andes" would show "that a great chain of mountains, with a continuous series of culminating ridges and a continuous slope, is a chain, whether rivers force their way through its gorges or not." He might as well have said that a row of unconnected links constitutes a chain. The essence of a chain is the continuous and close connection of its links. The word in its application to mountains may be excused in the case of the Andes of Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador, wherein is found an unique succession of bifurcations and apparent reunions of the main range. We say apparent, because, with the exception of the *valley of Desaguadero, which includes the lakes of Titicaca and Huallagas and of which there is no known outlet, a rift more or less pronounced occurs in the mountain wall of all the upland valleys for the passage of their drainage, generally towards the east, but westwards in the case of the Quito and Almaguer basins. In the mountain system to the north of India there is not any such succession of elevated valleys, or anything in the general formation and connection of the mountains analogous to a chain. The only instances of such basins are the unconnected and much smaller ones of Cashmere, Katmandoo, Pokhra and possibly Jumla. For the rest the valleys of the Himalaya generally are tortuous, deep and narrow, in section like a V. We may also remark, with respect to the Central Andes, which are evidently Mr. Markham's basis of comparison, that chains and cordilleras are not synonymous terms. The cordilleras are the bifurcations, and the successive bifurcations, really uniting in only one instance, form the so-called chain. To the south in Northern Chili the word is applied to the main range, which is there single and undivided, and to the north in New Grenada to the three parallel ranges which bound and separate the Cauca and Magdalena rivers.

We frankly admit that we know no more about the Andes than what any one can learn who studies Mr. Keith Johnston's Atlas and a good Cyclopædia. But our knowledge is more thorough about the Himalaya, which we have studied closely in nature and on most modern maps, including those of its surroundings. We can therefore say, with some degree of confidence, that if there is any strong resemblance between the phenomena of the Indo-Tibetan system and the Andes, the physical features of the latter must be very different from the definition which Mr. Markham has given of the former. The key to the Indo-Tibetan system

* The northern drainage of this valley falls into lake Titicaca, whence the surplus water is carried by the Desaguadero (drain) into the salt lake of Huallagas. The latter has no exit, unless, as some have sup-

posed, there is subterraneous filtration into the plains of Tarapaca. Otherwise the superfluity must be disposed of by evaporation.

† Cordillera de Santana.

lies in the valleys of the Indus and Brahmaputra and their affluents. These constitute from the great southern bend of the Indus in the district of Gilgit to the like bend round the Abor country, a long, uneven and irregular depression with a general direction north-west to south-east. The unevenness and irregularity of this area are due to the divergent channels of the two rivers from their common centre of origin near the Mansarowar Lake, to the ever-varying gradients of descent of them and their affluents, and to the many mountains which tower within the area, and of which some in the form of ridges from the *watersheds influence the course of the affluents. The lateral limits of this area are identical with the main watersheds which throw off these affluents. In these watersheds are to be found the only continuous lines over the entire system, and because their course is over table land, glacier, ridge and peak, we prefer the word to that of main range, which would be better used in connection with mountains only. Not nearly all the streams of the Indo-Tibetan system have their origin in the clefts of mountains or run with the continuous force of a torrent to the plains. Some have their sources on extensive table lands and the difference of a few feet in level may determine the flow towards the desert of Gobi, the Arabian Sea or the Bay of Bengal.

The line of the main watershed on the north, the general direction of which agrees with Mr. Markham's northern chain of the Karakorum and Nyenchenthangla mountains, may be traced by the following passes, uplands, &c., from the north-west corner of the Tagdumbash Pamiir:—

† Ghundarab Pass			
Mintaka Pass			
Kalik Pass			
Shinshul Pass			Ft.
‡ Muztagh Pass ...	...	...	18,400
Karakorum Pass...	...	...	18,550
§ Dipsang Plains ...	...	...	17,817
Pangtung La ...	...	...	18,900

* Mr. Markham (p. 40,) presumes that when Mr. Heeley writes watershed he means water-parting. As we have the high authority of Mr. H. F. Blandford (*Physical Geography for the use of Indian Schools*, p. 169) that the last syllable of watershed is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *scædan*, to part or divide, we see no reason to abandon the older and better-known term.

† The heights of these four passes are not known. In Mr. Davies'

Trade Report (Appendix XXX), it is said that the first three are easier than the Shinshul Pass, and that all are practicable for laden horses, and open throughout the year.

‡ The Muztagh is practicable for laden yaks and is open from July to October inclusive. Its height has been estimated only by Godwin Austen.

§ The height was determined by Dr. Scully in 1874. *Stray Feathers*, Vol. IV. 1876. p. 11.

	Ft.
Changlungbarma La ...	19,280
Chumik Lakmo ...	16,600
Chomorong La ...	18,760
Khalamba La ...	17,200

In the present state of geographical knowledge this watershed cannot be indicated with certainty further to the east, though it may be hoped that the researches of trained explorers will soon prove what is the connection between the Khalamba La and the meridional ranges in the Eastern Province of Kam. On the north-west the scimitar-shaped ridge, rising from the Kizilart plain to the south of the great Karakul and extending thence across the Neza Tash and Karashankar Pass along the hills to the south of the little Pamir, which separates the upper waters of the Oxus from those of the central affluents of the Tarym, and which Pundit Mumphool and Captain Trotter have named the Pamir Range, connects the Indo-Tibetan mountain system with that of the Thian-Shan, and the continuation of this watershed westwards along the ridge crossed by the Karambar and Darkot Passes and along the shoulder crossed by the Biroghil Pass, unites it with the Hindoo Kush mountains. A lengthy spur running southwards from the neighbourhood of the Biroghil Pass almost to Umbeyla separates the drainage of the Yassin-Gilgit stream, a direct feeder of the Indus, from the waters of the Kishengunga and the Swat, which are borne to the Indus through the channel of the Cabul river.

The main watershed on the south may be traced as follows:—

Chilas

Glaciers to the south of Nanga Purbut

Upper Tilel

	Ft.
Zogi La ...	11,300
Bhotkol Pass ...	14,580
Baralacha ...	16,626
Parang La ...	18,300
Shangyok La ...	16,800
Chirbitia La ...	18,570
Niti La ...	16,570
Kyungari La ...	17,400
Uta Dara ..	18,230
Nialo La ...	16,200
Fotu La ...	15,080
No La ...	16,600
Taku La* ...	.....
Dango La* ...	.....
Laghulang La ...	16,200

* Heights not determined.

On the northern side of the main northern watershed, the largest drainage system with which we are yet acquainted, is that of the southern affluents of the Tarym, which bears their water, as well as that of other streams originating on the Pamir and the Thian-Shan, into the lake country of *Lob. The journeys of Mr. Drew, of the Tibetan explorer in 1871-72, and the later one of Nain Singh, leave no room to doubt that, between the parallels of 79° and 92° east longitude, the drainage on this side flows into lakes, some of which are connected and others isolated. Many of the lakes are like Tengri Nor near the watershed and consequently very elevated.

Next comes the drainage within the depression which we have already defined. From the southern side of the main northern watershed and from the northern side of the main southern watershed the chief tributaries of the Indus and the Brahmaputra are as follows:—

North.	(INDUS.)	South.
Basha Braldu		Astor
Shayok		Surh
		Zanskar
		Hanle
	(BRAHMAPUTRA.)	
Chachu		Shorta
Charta		Shakiadong Chu
Raka		Shaibgi Chu
Shiangchu		Painom Chu
Kichu		
†Gakochu		

The remaining drainage of the area under consideration is absorbed by lakes devoid of outlet, of which the Pangkong series, the Chomoriri and the Mansarowar are the most notable, or is carried away by the Sutlej and the Kurnali, which rise near the sources of the Indus and the Brahmaputra, and by the Para, an affluent

* In the report of his first mission to Yarkund, Sir Douglas Forsyth wrote: "It is said that this river (the Tarym) flows into the Lake Lob or Lok Nor, but the general opinion expressed by all whom I asked was that it flowed into the great desert and is lost there." Later information, obtained during the sojourn of the second mission in Eastern Turkistan, leads to the conclusion that Lob is a succession of reedy lakes along the Tarym, ending in that which has the distinctive name of Lob Nor

amongst Europeans, and from which a river is said to go out to the south-east, across an immense desert of sand and salt. This river was called by Mirza Hyder the Kara Moran, and he believed it to flow to China. Even with the above information Captain Trotter, the geographer of the second mission, believes the lake of Lob to be somewhat mythical.

† Brian Hodgson's map, in Selections of the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXVII.

of the Sutlej. The head waters of the Sutlej pass from their springs on the north-east of Rakas Tal through that lake, but the stream is soon turned from its lateral course by the southern extremity of the snow-clad spur which runs from Hanle to a point south of Gartok, and again by the no less formidable obstacle of which Leo Porgyul is the front, the result being that it has been compelled to seek an outlet near Shipki at a point where a favourable dip on the southern watershed facilitated its escape. The position of the gigantic range of the Gurla Mandata has, in like manner, served to deflect the Kurnali towards the same watershed, the higher elevation of which in this quarter, nothing short of the Kurnali's rapid stream, with a *velocity nearly treble that of the swiftly flowing Sutlej, would have been able to overcome. We incline to the view that by force of impact a constantly progressing erosion took place on the part of the Sutlej and Kurnali, ending in the establishment of their existing waterways through the southern watershed. But the dips in each case may have been such as from the beginning to allow of a passage over and not to compel a cutting through this elevation. On such a hypothesis, however, we should have expected a greater width of channel at the point where the overflow began and for some distance beyond, or indications thereof at some antecedent period. In process of time the violence of the stream would wear a deep channel, and this action must be still going on. These breaks do not affect the delineation of the southern watershed in regard to the Indus and the Brahmaputra, to the valleys of which and of their affluents, be it remembered, we described it as the limit.

On the southern side of the main southern watershed are to be found the sources of the Kishengunga, Jhelum, Maru-Wudwan, Chandrabhaga, Spiti river, † Ganges, Kali or Sardah, Bheri, Buria

* The Brahmaputra flows from its source to Janglache (385 miles) with an average fall of about 5 feet a mile. Its great descent occurs in the 400 miles or so below Lhasa and above the plains of Assam, of which, to our sorrow, we know no more than Warren Hastings did.

The Indus flows to Leh (360 miles) with an average fall of about 18 feet a mile, and nearly the same average is maintained to Attock, a distance of 870 miles from its source.

The Sutlej flows to Shipki (210 miles) with an average fall of about 25 feet a mile, and for the full distance to Roopur (450 miles) at an average fall of nearly 32 feet a mile.

The Kurnali flows to Khojanath

(50 miles) with an average fall of about 69½ feet a mile, to Banda (125 miles from the source), with an average fall of 86½ feet a mile, and to Gola Ghat (215 miles from the source), with an average fall of 66 feet a mile. Between Khojanath and Banda, the section of greatest original resistance, the fall averages 97½ feet per mile, or about 1 in 64.

† On the authority of Mr. Moorcroft, it was long believed that the feeder of the Ganges, named Jahnavi, flowed from the northern side of this watershed. Captain Strachey's personal investigation proved this to be a mistake. It is a pity that Mr. Brian Hodgson should have allowed this mistake to stand in a recent re-

Ganduck, Trisool Ganduck, Dingri Chu, Sunasi Chu and Arun. Of these the Kishengunga, the Maru-Wudwan and Spiti river are comparatively soon merged in the Jhelum, the Chandrabhaga and the Sutlej. The united stream of the Dingri Chu, Sunasi Chu, and Arun retains for some distance the name of the last, and afterwards when joined by rivers of more southern origin the collective name is the Kosi. It is because the Jhelum, Chandrabhaga, Sutlej, Ganges, Kali, Kurnali, Bheri, Buria Ganduck, Trisool Ganduck and Arun after a long course in every case intersect the line of Mr. Markham's so-called southern chain, that we dispute the appropriateness in a geographical sense of the term chain or of any other term implying continuity.

The hydrography of the tract between the main southern watershed and the plains of India is of two types. On the west the main river is sooner developed and has a long course in the hills. To illustrate our meaning we may say that the Jhelum becomes what we call the main river, that is, it has no affluent with discharge at all corresponding to its own after the inflow of the Kishengunga. Up to the junction near Mozufferabad the main direction of both is westerly. From Mozufferabad the river has a course of more than a hundred miles almost due south before debouching on the plains above the town of Jhelum. The Chundra and the Bhaga unite their names and their streams at Tandi, and after a long north-westerly course the united stream is joined near Kishtwar by the Maru-Wudwan, its only important affluent, flowing from the north. Then follows a zigzag of about one hundred and twenty miles consisting of a long westerly stretch between two short southerly ones up to Aknoor, just above which town the river finally leaves the hills. The distance of the Sutlej from Namgia, where the Spiti river falls into it, to the edge of the plains at Roopur, is over two hundred miles, and in this part of its course it has no important feeder. The direction is west with a little south. Beyond, that is to the

print of an Essay written in 1846. (Compare Arrowsmith's map, illustrating Moorcroft's travels, Bengal Selection XXV^{II}, p. 80. Brian Hodgson's Essays, Part ii, p. 27, Thorntou's Gazetteer, pp. 318-319 and Walker's map of Turkistan, the Second Edition for choice, as the red line, indicative of the boundary between the British and Tibetan dominions, is more correctly given in that than in the Third Edition.)

* We understand Mr. Markham to draw his southern chain as fol-

lows :—

Pir Punjal Mountains
Bannihal Mountains
Kishtwar Mountains
Chumba Mountains
Rotang Pass
Jumnotri (or Gangotri ?)
Nanda Debi
Dwalagiri
Gosain Than
Kinchin Jinga
Chumalhari
Gemini.

east of the Sutlej, a change occurs, and we find a succession of southward-sloping mountain basins, broad at the top where they leave the watershed, and gradually contracting like a fan from its rim to its handle. These basins derive much of their water from certain prominent peaks, or groups of peaks, which standing in advance, that is southwards of the watershed, are connected with it, and from which ridges with dependent spurs project, that serve as lateral barriers to the basins. The preponderating synclinal slopes of the ridges and spurs, which overrule the effect of all other intervening inequalities of surface however vast, cause the several groups of mountain streams between them to converge till they unite and constitute a main river near the edge of the plains, whence, with but few subsequent additions, they roll their waters to their several junctions with the Ganges or Erāhinaputra. The succession of lateral barriers and mountain basins is as follows:—

The converging ridges from Banderpooch and Nundadebi cause the Bhagirathi and 'Aluknandi, previously reinforced by numerous intervening feeders, to unite and form the Ganges. The united waters before leaving the hills at Hurdwar are joined on the left bank by a considerable stream called the Nyar.

The spurs from the Nundadebi ridge, descending through Kumaon, and the ridge from the Api peak, similarly bring together the Kali, the Tatigar, the Sarjoo, the Ramgunga and other streams, whose united waters flow into the plains near Burmdeo as the Sardah.

The Api ridge and a ridge to the west of Dwalagiri, connected with the latter mountain by a spur, in like manner influence the basin of the Kurnali, which shortly before it reaches the plains near Golaghat is joined by two affluents, the Seti and the Bheri, almost as important as itself in the accumulation of water from other mountain streams which they bring. This basin vies with that of the Kosi in the width of country which it drains.

From the Dwalagiri spur, and others depending on the same ridge as it to the Gosain Than ridge, which runs almost down to Katmandoo, extends the basin of the Sapt-Gandiki, a Nepalese term for the country drained by * *the Barigar*, the Narainee or Kali Ganduck, *the Setigunga or Budh Ganduck*, *the Marsiangdi*, *the Daramdi*, the Buria Ganduck and the Trisool Ganduck. The outlet for the united waters is at Tribeni Ghat.

The Nepalese also credit the basin of the Kosi with a septet of chief feeders, and call the country so drained the Sapt-Kosiki. The short spur from the Gosain Than ridge on the one side and the lengthy barrier running from Bhomtso to Kinchin Jinga and con-

* The italics in this and the next paragraph indicate the streams of lower origin.

tinued in the Singale La range determine the area of this basin. The seven streams are the *Milamchi* or *Indrawati*, the *Bhotia Kosi*, the *Tamba Kosi*, the *Likhu Kosi*, the *Dudh Kosi*, the *Arun*, and the *Tamru*. The union of all is only achieved just above the plains near *Bara Chetr*.

An important but secondary part is played in the water system of the tract under consideration by rivers, having their origin more to the south, yet far within the hills, which we have not yet named. The long westerly courses of the *Chaudrabhaga*, and the *Sutlej* necessitate means of escape for most of the drainage of the mountains to the south of them, and this exists in the *Ravee* and the *Beas*. The *Jumna* in like manner makes up for the want of important tributaries to the *Sutlej* in its long westerly stretch. In the country beyond, that is to the east, are the triangular spaces intervening between the successive basins, widest between the points or apexes of the inverted deltas to which we may liken the basins, and forming the complement of those deltas. The space between the *Ganges* and the *Kurnali* basins is drained by the *Ramgunga* and the *Kosila*, that between the *Kurnali* and the *Ganduck* basins is drained by the *Babai* and *Rapti*, that between the *Ganduck* and the *Kosi* basins by the *Bagmotty*.

To the east of the *Bhomtso-cum-Singale La* range the southern drainage is no longer to the *Ganges* but to the *Brahmaputra*. The water system of *Sikkim*, entering the plains as the *Teesta*, resembles those of *Kumaon* and *Nepal*, though the area of the mountain basin is less extensive. The barrier on the east is the range from the *Dankia Pass* to the *Jelep La*. Of the country to the north-east of this range too little is known to admit of a decisive opinion. Our impression is that the southern watershed of the *Iudo-Tibetan* system will be found to run from the *Laghulung La* to the lakes above *Chumalhari*, thus separating the head waters of the *Arun* and the *Teesta* from those of the *Painomchu*, and to be continued from those lakes to the neighbourhood of *Yamdokcho*, and thence in such a line—east with a little south—as causes it, in accordance with its previous practice, to give northwards short feeders to the *Brahmaputra*, of which the *Yalung* has been determined by *Pundit Nain Singh's* last journey, and to throw off southwards the headwaters of the rivers which enter *Assam* as the *Monas* and *Subanseri*. The same explorer has completed the evidence of the deltaic character of the *Monas* in the mountains, and eventual proof of this character for the *Subanseri* may with some reason be expected. Between the *Teesta* and *Monas* basins the drainage of *Bhootan* is carried away by the *Pachuchinchu* and *Gungadur* rivers, which have separate courses through the plains to the *Brahmaputra*.

So much in respect of *Mr. Markham's* three parallel chains.

As regards other supposed points of resemblance* we would urge for his consideration whether the Illimani and Sorato peaks are not a little in advance of the real eastern watershed of the Central Andes, as we have shown to be the case with so many high peaks of the Himalaya, and as Mr. Keith Johnston's drawing suggests. If so, the real Cordillera is the lower range nearer to the two lakés of Titicaca and Huallagas and their connecting river, the peaks are off-shoots of it, and the line of continuity

* "Warren Hastings was the first to notice the striking analogy between the Andes and the Himalaya after perusing the work of M. de la Condamine. The analogy between the two great mountain masses of the old and new world is indeed most remarkable. Both consist of three parallel chains. In both great rivers have their sources in the inner chain, and force their way through the other two. The *cuesta* (ridge) of La Raya, separating the valley of the Vilcamayu from the basin of Titicaca, is the counterpart of the Mariam la Saddle dividing the basin of the Sutlej from the valley of the Brahmaputra. In both systems numerous rivers rise in the central Cordillera, and after lateral courses between the two, eventually force a way through the outer chain. The southern Himalaya bears an exact analogy to the outer Andes, which rise from the valley of the Amazon. Both have a low range at their feet, enclosing valleys or dhuns; both have deep gorges, separated by lofty ridges, which are spurs from a main chain of culminating snowy peaks; and in both several rivers rise in an inner central range, and force their way through profound ravines between the culminating summits. The rivers Mapiri and Chuqui-apu (Keith Johnston's Bogpi) pierce the Cordillera, flowing through chasms in beds 18,000 feet below the snowy peak of Illimani, which almost overhangs one them. Yet no one maintains that the 'Cordillera Real de los Andes' is not a chain of mountains. The analogy between the land of the Yucas and the plateau of Tibet may be carried still further. In both the staple produce is wool

yielded by llamas, alpacas and vicuñas in Peru, and by sheep and shawl goats in Tibet. In both the beasts of burden are llamas, or sheep needing a wide area of pasturage, and consequently 'humorous passes on their journeys, in order that a profitable trade may be carried on with the low country. Both abound in the precious metals. In both the people cultivate hardy cereals, and species of chenopodium, called quinoa in Peru and battu in Tibet. The people, too, have many beliefs and customs in common, down to that of heaping up huge piles of stones on the crests of mountain passes; and the Tibetan in actuated by the same feeling when he mutters his *Om mani pudmi hum* as the Peruvian, when, on passing a heap of stones, he bows and reverentially exclaims, *Apachicta muchhau*.

"The analogy pointed out by Warren Hastings, and which I have ventured to carry a little further, strikingly suggests the importance of taking a comprehensive view of such questions as those of the physical structure of a great mountain range, or of the best means of establishing commercial intercourse between inhabitants of a lofty plateau difficult of access and those of tropical valleys separated by snowy mountains. If the frightful gorges of the Andes did not prevent the Yucas from exchanging the products of the Sierras for the coca of the Montanas, there is nothing that a wise policy may not overcome to hinder the Lamas of Tibet and the rulers of India from establishing a friendly interchange of commodities between the lofty plateaus of the one and the fertile tropical valleys of the other." (Markham, pp. xi-xiii).

remains unbroken. Tibet and the valleys of the Andes being alike at a high elevation, it follows in the ordinary course of nature that their soil should produce hardy cereals. The heaping of stones on the crests of passes is a common practice in Cumberland and Westmoreland. Constant repetition of Om mani pudme hum is the habit of the orthodox Tibetan, and the only place at which he shows more than ordinary zeal in the monotonous work is when he passes, as he constantly does, one of those long walls known as *Manis*, which are covered with flat stones bearing the sacred inscription. The Peruvian, on the contrary, when he has reached the top of a pass, says the equivalent to "Thank God the worst of my journey is over," just as * Mr. Grove's porters did on the watershed of the Caucasus. So far as Tibetan and Peruvian invoke the deity there is something in common in their phrases, but that is all. The difference is that the latter utters a single ejaculation, because he has accomplished the ascent, whilst the former, on the pass as anywhere else, goes on repeating a prayer which it is the daily work of his life to repeat.

It is a mistake to say that Warren Hastings noticed a "striking analogy between the Andes and the Himalaya." What Warren Hastings noticed was a striking analogy between Tibet and the valley of Quito, the one being, in his opinion probably the highest land in the old, as the other "is the highest land in the new Continent." Either Warren Hastings had not heard of or ignored the existence of the much higher valley of Desaguadero. In either case the omission shows that his comparison was more limited than that which Mr. Markham attributes to him. Lastly, in his argument that by establishing identity of physical structure in the case of two elevated countries he is justified in predicating for the one the commercial results of the other, Mr. Markham has overlooked the fact that, even if other things were the same, which they are not, the South American tract has a more genial climate owing to its greater proximity to the sea and the equator and greater advantages in the way of water-carriage by the nearness of the Pacific on the one side, and the head waters of the Amazon on the other.

When in doubt use dots is an axiom wisely accepted by official map-makers in this country. Mr. Markham writes that possibly some of the feeders of the Monas and Subanseri rise on the southern side of his central chain, the general direction of which differs little from that of our southern main watershed. Yet in his general map he draws the feeders comparatively close to the right bank of the Brahmaputra as though he had no doubt on the subject. The extension eastwards of the Kuen Luën mountains, about which

* The Frosty Caucasus, page 86.

Colonel Walker is judiciously silent, and the physical features of the country between Lhasa and the western boundary of China are also drawn with a degree of detail which the available materials hardly warrant. It is well to remember that it was not the Jesuits employed by the Chinese Emperor Kanghi, but two Tibetan priests, who surveyed eastern Tibet in 1717. Mr. Markham says that they were carefully trained by the Jesuits, and that their orders were to survey from Sining to Lhasa and thence to the sources of the Ganges. The Jesuits then in China were Regis, Jartoux and Fridelli, and perhaps Bouvet still. The results of the Lamas' enquiries, which, considering the time and distance, could not be otherwise than superficial, were embodied in the maps of China and its dependencies, which were completed by the Jesuit fathers in 1718, and from which d'Anville constructed his "*Carte generale du Thibet ou Bouttan, et des Pays de Kashgar et Hami.*" Their maps were afterwards corrected by Hallerstein, d'Arocha and Espinha, whose survey of Turkistan, undertaken by order of the Emperor Tsianlun from 1755 to 1759, extended as far west as Tashkurghan and northward to the valley of the Talas. Sir Henry Rawlinson has not a high opinion of their accuracy. As they worked by way of Dzungaria it is possible that they never were near that part of the country to which Mr. Markham has so confidently extended the Kuen Luen eastwards. The exact course of their wanderings is unknown; as no account of their journey is extant. In 1833 neither the height, position nor direction of the Kuen Luen was accurately known. Since that time, so far as we are aware, nothing more authentic has been learnt than the experience of the Tibetan explorer of 1871-72, that as far as he could see from a commanding position near Tengri Nor there were no high peaks to the north, and the statement of Lamas who lived on the spot that the country to the north was very much the same as that around the lake. As regards eastern Tibet, Huc and Gabet travelled from the Great Wall to Lhasa and back to China by Szchuen in 1844-46, but unfortunately they had no eye for country. Klapproth is not to be trusted. Mr. T. T. Cooper, who approached from the side of China, was never allowed to cross the border. Mr. Markham himself admits that "Kam is still almost entirely unknown," and that "no real additions were made to our knowledge of Great Tibet, supplied by M. d'Anville's maps, until Colonel Montgomerie's explorers penetrated into that country," and still he draws mountains and rivers in Kam where Colonel Montgomerie's explorers have never been, with as much decision as though he had ample information to work upon.

From the resuscitation of Mr. Bogle's and Mr. Manning's papers and his own efforts to explain the physical and political geography

of Nepal, Bhootan and Tibet, Mr. Markham hopes to see a policy initiated which shall have for its aim "the establishment of unfettered intercourse through all the Himalayan passes from the Kali to the Dihong." The first step which he inculcates is to take advantage of Mr. Edgar's road up to the Jelep La for an exploration of the Chumbi Valley and a visit of English officers to Phari: the second is to be a commercial mission to Lhasa and Shigatze. There are also to be negotiations with Peking and a lecture to the Gorkhali Government to refrain from keeping the Tibetans in terror of war, as it is said to have done for more than a century past. A charming instance is this of the pot calling the kettle black, for the Gorkhalis get quite as alarmed sometimes as the Tibetans, and not always without reason. The result of the above "broadly-conceived and continuous policy" is to be a trade of momentous importance. Has the lesson which Sir Douglas* Forsyth tardily learnt during his second mission and with more cautious associates no meaning for Mr. Markham, or has he been lending too willing an ear to the mercantile clique in the North of England? We cannot forget that influence from this quarter compelled Sir John

* To the end of 1873 Sir Douglas Forsyth made light of the difficulties of the road, over-estimated the population of Eastern Turkistan, and believed in the possibility of an extensive British trade across the Himalaya. He had then been once and Mr. Shaw twice to Yarkund. The latter was his companion in the first mission. His report from Kashgar, dated February 2nd, 1874 (Supplement to *Gazette of India*, April 18th 1874) is the first indication of a change of opinion. The views of his companions on the second occasion are as follows: "With the Kashgar Government the goods of the British trader up to a certain limit will, so far as appearances indicate, find a ready market, if not with the local merchants; because cotton prints, muslins, broad cloths, silks, &c., are in great demand for the troops and officials amongst whom they are distributed by way of presents and in lieu of pay."

"With the people the wares usually brought by Russian traders, such as brass candlesticks, iron cauldrons and other hard-ware, with tea and some coarse cotton prints of peculiar pattern, promise to keep the favour

they at present enjoy.

"As to the comparative facilities for transit, on the opposite sides, I can say nothing more than that if they are as great on the north as they are on the south, the competitors will have a fair field for their peaceful rivalry, and that too over as hard and wearying a bit of ground as is nowhere else to be found." (Dr. Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashgar*, pp. 386-7.)

"The stout cotton cloths of Eastern Turkistan are well known for their durability in the markets of Badakshan and Russian Turkistan beyond the Thian-Shan; and there is a steady export trade in them from Kashgar, Yarkund and Khoten. The only foreign cotton goods that find a sale in Eastern Turkistan are the fine kinds, and muslin chintzes and prints, the manufacture of which is not yet understood, but the demand for these is limited by being beyond the means of the mass of the population. This fact should, I think, settle the question of any important market in that part of Central Asia for Manchester goods." (Colonel Gordon's *Roof of the World*, p. 51.)

Lawrence's Government to re-open the question of a survey for a railway to western China, against their better-informed judgment, and with the expensive result of showing that their objections were right. We cannot ignore the unreasonableness of later demands which the manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire have made with respect to their interests in the East. We cannot overlook the fact that these commercial gentlemen never risk a farthing of their own money in endeavouring to ascertain whether their belief in an extensive demand for their goods in Turkistan and Tibet is well-founded or not. Our own reading of history and geography leads us to an entirely opposite conclusion to that of Mr. Markham. If by unfettered intercourse is meant an abandonment by the intermediate States of their customs duties, we may expect to see this result achieved when the British Government has abandoned its own sea customs. If the epithet refers to improved means of communication, we can only express our surprise at the advocacy of a plan for making highways to a country which is little better than a wilderness; for, as we have shown, the western passes of Nepal only lead to uplands scantily inhabited by nomad tribes. The least impracticable route, because it is the longest in territory either British or under British control and the shortest in independent territory, because it serves the least sparsely occupied part of Tibet, and because on this side it may be improved at a not immoderate expense, is that which leads to the Jelep La. If the Indian Government is wise it will content itself with the establishment of a dépôt in the neighbourhood of the pass where Indian and Tibetan traders may meet and learn whether their respective countries have still any important wants which they can mutually satisfy. Their self-interest will accomplish more than costly English missions, and any development due to their exertions will, we believe, be small. To those who wish to study the progress of a much-vaunted and much-pushed Trans-Himalayan trade we recommend a careful perusal of the annual reports* of the British Commissioner at Leh. We regret

* From the Supplements to the *Gazette of India* for August 8th, 1874 and September 18th, 1875, we learn that the yearly totals of the trade through Ladak are as follows:—

	Co.'s Rs.
1863	2,36,040
1864-66	1,00,000
1867	5,64,945
1868	10,38,401
1869	12,91,567
1870	15,48,000
1871	12,41,177

1872	15,84,800
1873	17,76,729
1874	26,30,932

These figures, as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab (Sir H. Davies) has for the last two years represented, are likely to mislead, for the imports and exports which constitute the trade are the same goods, and so the value of the trade is only about half the totals shown. A further reduction has also to be made for the cross trade between Cashmere and Chantlang

that we have not the figures to indicate at what outlay the comparatively insignificant results quoted below have been attained, but on the strength of the internal evidence which Sir Douglas Forsyth's report supplies, we doubt whether his last mission cost much less than four lacs of rupees. Possibly political advantages have been gained which are well worth the money, though it is difficult to reconcile such a supposition with the frequent assurance that the several missions were for commercial purposes only, just as it is difficult to understand how, in connection with the crucial question of the relations of England and Russia in the East, the country of Eastern Turkistan should be regarded as within the sphere of the former's influence. Under certain circumstances influence implies support, and it is a physical impossibility that the Indian Government should give the Ameer Yacoob Beg the only support which he would value if Russia made an unprovoked attack on him. The geographical results are most valuable. But so numerous a body of English officers would never have been deputed for the sole purpose of connecting the British and Russian surveys on the Chadir Kul or of finding out the Pamir puzzle. It is with the commercial aspect of the question that, following Mr. Markham's lead, we have specially concerned ourselves, and on that score what has been proved true of Eastern Turkistan may be prophesied of the less favourable circumstances of Tibet—*Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*

which is included in these returns. The trade of Turkistan for the last three years is thus shown :—

	1872.	1873.	1874.
Imports from Turkistan to Leh ...	8,21,768	8,30,690	8,81,802
Exports from Leh to Turkistan ...	8,67,940	2,55,660	8,02,568
	6,59,708	5,86,350	11,84,265

The great increase of 1874 was chiefly due to the exportation of the previous year's goods to the value of

Rs 1,50,000 left behind in Leh owing to difficulties about carriage, and to the abnormal addition of Mr. Russell's venture, the value of which was over Rs. 3,00,000, and which consisted of expensive fabrics and firearms, for which the British Commissioner at Leh (Captain Molloy) was far from anticipating a ready sale. Our private information and the fact that Mr. Russell had to leave an assistant in Turkistan, whilst he himself returned to India, confirm the accuracy of this view.

ART. VII.—OUR LAND REVENUE POLICY IN NORTH-
ERN INDIA.

1.—*Our Land Revenue Policy.* By C. J. Connell, Esq., B.C.S.

2.—*The "Pioneer Newspaper,"* 1876.

IN our last number Mr. Connell's writings were ably reviewed and some of their defects pointed out from the N. W. P. point of view, by a well-known and respected expert. And we now propose to offer some remarks upon them from the point of view of those who were responsible for, and took part in, the revised land settlement of the Province of Oudh, and with whom the author in question has such general fault to find.

Mr. Connell mournfully dwells on the causes which have led, and are daily leading to the transfer of land, from the old hereditary to new proprietors, and on the faulty arrangements of the British Government which have added to their embarrassments and hastened on their ruin. The revenue demand, he says, has been enhanced at the regular settlement from 50 to 100 per cent. and in numerous instances the Government share is more than half the rental. In support of his views as to the impoverished condition of the peasantry, he quotes the high authority of the Chief Commissioner, as set forth in page 45, Oudh Revenue Report of 1873.

In common with our North-West reviewer we are much indebted to Mr. Connell for the freshness and vigour with which he has treated a well-worn subject, and we acknowledge the service he has rendered in pointing out numerous blots; but he has said many things in the course of his writings which he will live to regret, and to a general refutation of some of these we propose to devote the present paper.

The causes that lead to the transfer of property everywhere are almost as numerous as the properties transferred. But those that are most common in India may be summed up thus: (1) Incapacity to manage land profitably; (2) imprudence and extravagance in marriages and ceremonies and licentiousness; (3) quarrelsomeness and litigation; (4) unsuccessful speculation. In the presence of these and the endless other prevailing reasons for indebtedness connected more or less with them, all leading up to the inevitable transfer of hereditary property, it is neither altogether just, nor is it financially nor politically wise, to assign maladministration and over-assessment on the part of former British officers, as the most prominent if not the only causes for

such transfers. In criticising the work of our predecessors we are laying ourselves open to the charge of being wise after the event, and we can therefore never be too careful to remember that, from the point of view of their day, the motives for their proceedings were probably as unexceptionable as our own.

It requires but little intelligence or experience to discover that transfers of land will neither be stopped nor materially lessened, by the simple and easy process of relinquishing a still larger portion than we now do, of the Government share of the produce of the land. From the earliest days of Muhammadan rule the tiller of the soil lived a hand-to-mouth life, the main revenue principle of our predecessors having been that the agriculturist and his family were entitled to food and nominal clothing, but that all the rest of the produce belonged to the State.*

The earlier British settlements were made leaving to the owners no more than a tenth of the assumed rental. In more modern times this share was increased to a third, and in our own day to a half. But while the British Government has done so much for the people by relinquishing so large a share of its dues, and notwithstanding the efforts that for the last 20 years we have been making to discourage transfers, it is obvious that we have failed in preventing or mitigating them, they are still as numerous as ever; and it may therefore with truth be argued that they are in no degree due to the share that the Government takes of the rental, nor are they to be diminished by its reduction or relinquishment. All good landlords, unfortunately they are the minority, find in half the rental enough and to spare, and the other half they treat as a sacred trust, which must be set aside for the purposes of the State. But the larger majority of land owners are unfortunately *not* good; they mistake benevolent extravagance for good works; their leading principle is "base is the slave who pays;" and to the end of time such men will give up 5 per cent. even of the assumed rental to the State, with just as ill a grace and with very little less trouble to collect, than they now surrender 50.

The real practical test of an assessment¹ is the selling price of land. Where there is over-assessment purchasers cannot be found, and land is a drug in the market; such was within our own knowledge formerly the case in several parts of the Allahabad division. But this is by no means the case in any portion of Oudh of which we have had experience; land is keenly sought after, and although it is under the periodical settlement system, it fetches a price equal to that for which it can be bought in the permanently settled parts of the Jounpore district, or, say, sixteen

* See Trevor Plowden on the Begam Sumru's Settlement.

years' purchase. If proof be required of the fact that transfers are really not materially affected by the rate at which the Government demand is fixed, it may be mentioned that transfers have been much more common in Joynpore, where Mr. Jonathan Duncan's pepper-corn revenue rates prevail, than they have been in the neighbouring districts of Oudh, where over-assessment has been so vehemently alleged. Mr. Connell has been particular to bestow exceptional praise on the Partabgarh assessment for its moderation; yet there are few, if any, Oudh districts in which voluntary transfers have been more numerous. It can also with truth be affirmed, that the worst managed estates in the country are those the revenues of which the Government has assigned away (*muafies*), which proves that a moderate Government demand is no more than a wholesome stimulus to industry.

To those who have taken an intelligent interest in the revenue administration of the Province since it was annexed, it must be as clear as day that, taken as a whole, it has from the first been leniently dealt with, and where the revision did, after many years, take place, it was most moderately effected. When we took over the Province we found the revenue system of Akbar in full force, under which the gross produce was annually, or, at any rate, for a Nazim's term of office, roughly estimated by the Pargana officers (*canúngos*), the share allowed to the proprietor (called *nankar*) was then deducted, and the balance was the nominal revenue of the State. The general demoralization of the native government, and its utter inability to control its establishments, led to the overthrow of the dynasty; and in no branch had the demoralization been more directly felt, than in the realization of the revenue, which, as Sleeman tells us, had fearfully fallen away. The *Nazims* and *Canúngos* were in the last degree corrupt, and the landowners either lived in open rebellion, or by unblushing dalliance with corruption. In February 1856, when things were at their very worst, we took over the administration. We called on the old corrupt *Canúngos* to furnish us lists of the Government demand; and these, such as they were, were speedily given in. Time did not admit of any effective scrutiny, and so the summary assessment of the revenue, which was avowedly fixed for three years only, was then made by simply assessing the demand at half the assets as ascertained from these miserably unsatisfactory lists.

Instead, however, of the stipulated three years, the absurdly inadequate demand, with which we contented ourselves in 1856, has been allowed to run on over the Province, for periods ranging from 5 to 20 years. In the interval the assessment of the 12 districts has been revised by men of more or less experience, supervised by officers of established ability, such as Sir Charles

Wingfield, Sir John Strachey, and Sir Henry Davies, in accordance with the principles that now usually guide such operations. It is the contention of Mr. Connell that this has been badly done, and that the enhancement of revenue, which ranges from 50 to 100 per cent., has been excessive. Far be it from us to say that the Oudh assessments are faultless, or that mistakes have not been committed; but that they have erred in the direction of rack-renting, we are not for a moment prepared to admit. Such as they were, they were at least made by men of greater experience and with much more deliberation than were the revisions of them, which have since, as we think, very unadvisedly and inartistically been carried out. There is also some consolation in knowing that, if the Oudh settlement men have failed, so also have C. H. Crosthwaite, C. A. Elliott, and all other settlement men, in all other places, down to the time when the existing staff undertook the revision of Faizabad, when things changed for the better. The percentage of rise according to the Revenue Report for 1871-72, before it had occurred to any one to consider revisions necessary in the 12 districts, is shown on the margin,* giving

		per cent.	
Lucknow	25		a provincial average rise of 46 per
Unao	10		cent. Before it can be argued that
Bara Banki	46½	"	these percentages of rise are extortionate, it must be shown that the
Sitapur	46½	"	summary assessments, based on the
Hardui	47½	"	Canúngo's lists already referred
Kheri	133¾	"	to, were absolutely correct; that
Faizabad	39½	"	they were not so, does not admit
Bahraich	88½	"	of argument. What, may we ask,
Gondah	65¾	"	is the use of going to the expense
Rai Bareilly	26	"	
Sultanpore	36¾	"	
Partabgarh	36½	"	

of a scientific and field survey, and of ascertaining the capabilities of every single village, nay field, if after all, the main consideration which is to regulate our assessment is the past payments, right or wrong, of the landowners, under the corrupt native or the indifferently informed British rule?

It is of course true that the excessive incomes that land-owners have been wrongfully enjoying for all these years, have been considerably though not suddenly reduced, for the process took years to accomplish; but that does not seem a sufficient reason to assign for perpetuating a grievous wrong. As well might a high-salaried Indian official assign reduction of income on retirement as a reason for demanding a larger pension than the existing rules allowed. Seeing the fuss that has been made about a rise which, in the aggregate, fell short at the first revision of 40 per cent. throughout the district, what will be said when we mention that at the first revision of assessment of the adjoining Gorakhpur district, by one of the best of our past revenue officers,

E. A. Reade, at whose honored feet the writer learned his early revenue lessons, a rise was throughout obtained of 350 per cent. and that without a murmur! The cultivated area of Oudh increased largely during the summary settlement, and the prices of produce have also very materially risen. But is all this to be over-looked? and instead of assessing fairly on the well-ascertained capabilities of to-day, are we to continue to relinquish the long-established share of the State, for no better reason than that, when we were in a hurry 20 years ago, we allowed the Canúngos to gull us as to what should then have been the Government demand? The fact really is, that if the revenue rate of to-day could be compared with the revenue rate of Akbar or Saadat Ali or any other former native potentate of fiscal repute, the moderation of the British assessments would be established beyond cavil. We happen to have before us a list of 40 Faizabad villages at this moment, the King's demand from which was Rs. 57,435. Our own revised demand, after a decade of peace, was only Rs. 56,937. In evidence of the moderation of the demand much can of course be said.

* Acre for acre Faizabad, which has 617 souls to the square mile, and which is only exceeded in population (which of course means rent and revenue producing power) by two Oudh districts, viz., Lucknow and Bara Banki, pays a lower revenue rate

* Districts.	RATE PER ACRE			
	Cultivated		Malgúzari	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Lucknow	2	6 4	1	11 7
Unao	2	5 10	1	9 6
Bara Banki	2	4 7	1	15 1
Rai Bareli	2	6 4	1	10 0
Sultanpore	2	2 9	1	9 10
Partabgurb	2	3 3	1	0 9

on cultivated and *malgúzari* area than any district in the Lucknow and Rai Bareli divisions, as shown on the margin.* Moreover a dozen Parganas or so of the adjoining Azimgarh district (N.-W.P.), have now been assessed; the average rate on cultivation falling at Rs. 2-4-6. per acre. Compare that with our rate Rs. 2-0-5, and the result unmistakably points at a moderate rating here. The rise in most of the completed Azimgarh Parganas ranges from 29 to 33 per cent.; all are given on the margin,† and this, it will be remembered, is not the first revision there, as ours was here, and which almost always gives a higher rise than those revisions that follow.

† Pargunnah Sagri	...	32
Do. Nizamabad	...	32
Do. Deogaon	...	6
Do. Belha Bans	...	13
Do. Kouria	...	29
Do. Atraulia	...	17
Do. Gopalpur	...	33
Do. Chiriakat	}	31
Do. Keriak Mittee		
Do. Mahul		

Our percentages of rise in the Parganas, Tehsils, and district,

†	TEHSIL.	PARGUNNAHS.	Per cent. of rise.
			Rs. As. P.
I	Dostpur	Aldemaū ...	41 5 0
		Surharpur ...	51 0 0
		Majhowra ...	23 13 0
		Total ...	41 11 0
II	Akberpur	Akberpur ...	48 0 0
		Berhar ...	59 8 0
		Tanda Ultifatgunj ...	29 0 0
		Total ...	49 0 0
II	Faizabad	Umtina ...	55 11 0
		Puchimrath ...	33 0 0
		Haveli—Oudh ...	28 0 0
		Mungulsi ...	22 13 0
		Total ...	32 11 0
IV	Bhirtipur	Isawli ...	27 15 0
		Sultapur ...	34 1 0
		Khundasa ...	70 4 0
		Total ...	38 10 0
		Percentage on District	39 13 0

are exhibited on the margin.† This table shows not only that the rise comparatively speaking, was nothing out of the way, but also that, in the two Tehsils where precipitancy and largeness of rise are sometimes urged, the new *jamas* were years later in being introduced, and the rise was considerably smaller when finally collected, than it was in the earlier, and what are supposed to be, the more deliberately assessed Parganas. Under our strong and peaceful rule, tyranny and

spoliation have come to an absolute end, and the husbandman is now sure of all the fruits of his labor, to which fact it is in no small degree due that agriculture is much more sought after as an occupation than it used to be when, by the force of circumstances, every man lived by the sword; the result of course is greatly extended cultivation, and the money that formerly went to bribe the King's officials, or to pay an army of idle henchmen to fight them, now remains in the landowner's pocket, all of which circumstances seem to us to tell strongly against the theory that our rule has in any degree tended to impoverish the peasantry.

It is no doubt true that under the native rule a large portion of the provincial population found ill-paid, but idle and not unpleasant existence near their homes, in the various civil and military establishments, and such occupation is not now open to them; but the question we have emphatically to put is, *will that blank be supplied and these people be made happy for ever, by a mere reduction of 10 or even 20 per cent. of the Government demand?* We trow not; and that the position of over-crowded village communities, and it is these that are always presenting themselves to the sympathizing mind's eye, would not be materially improved, for they would still be over-crowded and ill-off, as

before, the even if Government were to forego every rupee of its just demand!

In the circumstances it is simply Quixotic to hope to make dense proprietary populations what we call *comfortable*, by merely trifling with, and frittering away the 'time-honored dues of the State. As an instance of this tendency, we may mention a case in which it was alleged that no attention had been paid to the great number of co-sharers, when the village was assessed. This, as a fact, was not the case; and the relief afforded on this baseless assertion, was to allow a reduction of revenue which, when distributed, gave to each co-sharer just 3 annas per annum.

We have already referred to a para of an Oudh report quoted approvingly by Mr. Connell, in which the following remarkable sentences occur:—

"The Chief Commissioner is, however, quite satisfied of one thing, and it is this:—It is a question which admits of no tinkering. It is no use lifting up our hands in horror and dismay and calling for reports, and uttering platitudes about the land passing out of the hands of the ancient race. We must either accept the situation, or alter our system of Government altogether, for it is that system which has called this state of things into existence and is perpetuating it. It is owing to our system that the thousands who formerly aided the soil with their earnings sent from afar are now living on it a dead-burden, where they were formerly an active support. It is owing to our system that girls are reared in hundreds, not only to be so many mouths to feed, but to involve their fathers in still deeper debt to meet their marriage expenses. It is owing to our system that men are no longer allowed to kill each other by scores in agrarian quarrels, that the march of famine and epidemic disease is checked, that quinine is being brought to the door of every fever-stricken sufferer, and that in every district there are sanitary measures in progress, which have for their object the mitigation of disease, and the prevention of death. Owing to the operation of all these causes, the population which have only the land to look to for their support are annually becoming more and more numerous. The consequences are not difficult to foresee; when the land cannot yield more than is sufficient for the mouths dependent on its produce, it follows that there is nothing left wherewith to meet the demands of the State, which claims one-half of the rental, or any other demand.

"Consequently, from whatever quarter the demand is made, the people are unable to meet it, and the land which is the security for the claim must be transferred in satisfaction of what is due upon it.

"Such, the Chief Commissioner repeats, is the inevitable result

"of the present system of administration. So long as the people adhere to their old habits and prejudices; so long as they put no sort of restraint on the indulgence of their several instincts; so long as they consider it creditable to ruin themselves on the expenses of a daughter's marriage; so long, in short, as the leopard does not change his spots,—it is the business of higher authority to determine whether the blessings of our rule counter-balance its disadvantages. But it is certain we cannot give a country all the benefits of civilization and allow the dwellers therein at the same time those advantages which they derived from being in a state of semi-barbarism."

Startling truths are undoubtedly here presented to the philanthropic mind, but we are prone to believe that there is another side to the picture. With every desire to do full justice to our well-meant, if unpopular medical and sanitary measures, it is questionable if they have yet had, or in the time of those now living will have, any appreciable influence on the numbers of the rural population of Oudh. One of the results of our system, has been the reclamation of lakhs of acres of waste-land, which is now producing food, the influence of which has been, or is now being, abundantly felt in Orissa, in the North-Western Provinces, in Bombay, or wherever during the last 20 years, famine has devastated the land.

During native rule not a *chitak* of food-grain was allowed to leave the province; but the export returns show that between the years 1870 and 1874, the average annual value of grain exported from Oudh was Rs. 1,11,36,769. Another result of our rule has been to add indigo and sugarcane and opium, things which from insecurity were not formerly grown, to the valuable staples of the Province; and what this means may be understood by the circumstance that our average annual expenditure, between 1870-71 and 1874-75 in the production of opium alone was Rs. 19,40,116, that for the current year alone being no less than Rs. 37,81,166. Public Works expenditure was a thing formerly unknown to rural Oudh; our average annual expenditure under this head during the same five years was Rs. 14,69,202, and this did not include the very large expenditure during that time on the construction of railways. We are only in possession of figures for a fourth of the Province in regard to remittances, and from these we gather the following results. Sepoys' remittances into that area during the year 1875, amounted to Rs. 45,487; multiply that by 4, the number of Commissionerships, and at the same rate the sepoy remittances into the Province would be Rs. 1,81,928; but inasmuch that some districts are less populous than others, a lac and a half would be a fair figure to estimate from this source. Again, the receipts from money orders in the same area for the same

year, amount to Rs. 3,58,929. This would give Rs. 14,35,716 for the Province, so we estimate this item as low as 12 lacs. Strange though it may seem, parcels containing rupees packed in cloth and tin are daily sent through the rural post offices in large numbers. The parcels that reached the above area, in the year already mentioned, and the great mass of which contained rupees, were no fewer than 7,826. We happen to know of a batch of such parcels being opened, and they contained an average of Rs. 9 each: we may therefore be well within the mark in estimating the receipts in this way at 2 lacs. Totalling all these large items, we come to the knowledge that, as a set-off against the sole item of former receipts from beyond the province during native rule, *viz.*, the family remittances of British sepoys, *plus* the savings of the king's sepoys, who were irregularly and badly paid, we have entering and circulating in Oudh under British rule, as above set forth, an annual average sum of Rs. 1,79,37,137, a sum much more than equal to the whole land revenue of the Province, which, by the report for 1871-72, before revisions of the assessments commenced, was Rs. 1,48,99,806 only; and this without estimating, (1) remittances in currency notes; (2) *mahajans' hundis*, and (3) cash brought with them from afar by persons returning from service to their homes.* If landowners are now put to greater expense on account of their daughters being preserved from infanticide and *sutti*, they have as a material, not to mention the moral, set-off, the money saved by exemption from the payment of black mail, and the decreased cost of wages of military retainers and munitions of war, besides the saving effected by their property being protected from plunder. The saying, *jis ka jamin oska karja*, dates from long before the British advent, and amounts to this, that all landowners are in debt. In Europe, where no land revenue has to be paid at all, the majority of the smaller proprietors are much in the same plight. But all this, and constant assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, the people of Oudh are prosperous and happy, the impost of the State has been moderately assessed upon them, and if it were to be reduced to-morrow to the full extent even of Mr. Connell's amiable desire, the measure, we believe, would not benefit 5, or at the outside 10 per cent. of the rural families of the Province.

From the series of articles to which we have referred at the

* On a late visit to Calcutta the writer was surprised by the Jemadar of the Hotel where he was staying claiming acquaintance with him. He is a Partabgarh man, and assured the writer that there are at least a thou-

sand of his brethren in the employ of the Agra Bank, National Bank, Mackenzie Lyall, the Great Eastern Hotel, and other establishments, drawing from Rs. 7 to Rs. 20 per mensem.

head of this paper we make the following quotations, as they embrace many of the charges that have from time to time been made against Oudh assessments in general, and those of Faizabad in particular, with which for ten years the writer was so intimately connected.

"In addition to the mischievous innovations in the mutual relations of land-owner and sub-holder, which European legislation has introduced, and which have undeniably contributed in no small degree to the failure of the revenue administration in Oudh, there are other causes connected intimately with the injudicious action of the settlement department in respect to the preparation of the record of rights and the fixation of the land tax, which have, in their turn, added considerably to the present difficulties of the local administration. It is impossible to arrive at a just appreciation of existing Oudh embarrassments without exhibiting in some detail the mistakes committed by former Oudh officials; many of these, are set forth, though, as is inevitable, with a certain reserve in the revenue reports of the last three years. It is difficult to conceive how it was expected, that these numerous and struggling sub-proprietary communities could possibly pay their heavy annual rent, before even the rights and interests of the different co-sharers in the decreed lease-right had been determined. The revenue report for 1873 relates, however, that "apart from cases of real over-assessment, there is no doubt that the action of the settlement department did, in many instances, press heavily on the people. In some districts, notably Faizabad, Jonda, Kheri, and parts of Sultanpur, at a time of supposed financial pressure, the revision of the assessment was hurried on, and a greater demand was imposed before the settlement officer had had time to adjust the rights and liabilities of the various sharers and under-proprietors affected by this operation. It is not difficult to understand that a course, such as this, necessarily entails great hardship on the persons directly responsible for the Government revenue, and results in their frequent default. They cannot themselves meet the whole of the Government demand, and they are not in a position to recover from their co-sharers and subordinate holders their fair quota of the increase." It is not easy also to understand how the then Oudh Government, in obeying its feeling of devotion to the needs of the imperial exchequer, and in levying the full enhanced tax at once, as it did in Faizabad, could have considered that it was not forgetting its own duty to the landowners and their under-proprietors; for, as the Chief Commissioner observes, "the distress which must result from the sudden imposition of a largely enhanced, though otherwise fair, demand, does not require demonstration." Yet it is noted in the same report that "as to that district the arrears of revenue were due chiefly to the causes—*first*, the enhancement of the revenue before due time had been given to fix rents; and *second*, the realization of the revenue before subordinate rights had been determined;" and that "it was found that in 1869 a circular was issued directing that if the revised *jama* was declared on or after the 15th January in any given year, it was not to be demanded until the *khariif* of the following year, that is to say, a *jama* declared on the 15th January 1869, was not to be enforced till November 1870. It was also found that on the occurrence of the financial panic in 1869, the Chief Commissioner, loyally doing his utmost to assist the Government of India, directed this rule to be disregarded in the *paragana*s which were assessed at that time, and that its principle had generally not been followed throughout the district; and the revised *jama* was collected from the *khariif* immediately following the date of its declaration, so that the year of grace prescribed by the circular above referred to, and the policy of which will not perhaps be questioned, was denied to the agriculturists.

The necessity for the due record of all sub-holdings prior to the levy of a largely increased revenue is self-evident; yet though at first all suits for the determination of rights in land were exempt from the payment of court-fees, this privilege was withdrawn at far too early a stage; and "the effect of the imposition of the full stamp duty on all these claims was prohibitive, as far as regarded the smaller subordinate holders, who could not afford the expense of establishing by a decree of court their title to rights actually in their possession, nor could the talukdars generally afford the heavy cost of challenging the rights of numerous petty occupants claiming to hold at favorable rates."

"In quoting these passages there is no desire to rake up old grievances, to pillory particular officials, or to bring again to light errors which may now be appropriately buried in oblivion; there has been no more difficult and delicate task for Indian officials to perform than this settlement of Oudh, and it was impossible but that grave mistakes should be made during the execution of the onerous undertaking. It is not possible, however, to secure a just and comprehensive estimate of the present position of affairs in Oudh, or to suggest suitable remedial measures until these various errors have been thoroughly understood, and their consequences accurately appreciated. In treating Oudh difficulties, it will be necessary to recollect that the action of its rulers has in many ways itself created them, and the landowners and their sub-holders may justly claim liberal treatment now in consideration of the injustice which they had been compelled to endure till shortly after the commencement of the present Chief Commissioner's rule."

These remarks appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 8th June: and on the 15th the same writer wrote as follows:—

"Indeed, none of these questions appear to have disturbed the wooden severity of the then Oudh Government; it does not seem to have occurred to those who then presided over the destinies of that Province that the work of assessing all landed property in a newly annexed country, peopled by brave but somewhat idle and demoralized Rajputs and Brahmins, crowded with intricate and little known tenures, was a matter of extreme difficulty and delicacy, requiring the most constant and anxious supervision. So far as we know, the settlement officers were for the most part abandoned to their own devices. Superior authority in the shape of commissioners and financial commissioners contented itself with hearing appeals from the judicial decisions of the assessors: and the revenue assessments—matters of life and death to whole countries—were accepted without challenge as the absolute decrees of infallibility. It is well-nigh incredible that almost the solitary instance of activity on the part of the Oudh Administration was harshly and suddenly to confiscate the year's grace granted to the Faizabad landowners between the announcement and the levy of the increased tax, and in defiance of all remonstrance to urge on the assessors of the Gondah and Kheri districts to hurriedly complete their revision operations, in order that the increased revenue might as speedily as possible be carried off to replenish, as it was supposed, an exhausted imperial exchequer. As the Oudh revenue reports show, the hasty fixation of a vastly increased tax has proved a terrible political blunder. The revenue demand of all three districts was shown to be oppressive; and coupled as it was with the neglect to complete the record of rights, and followed by three years of disastrous harvests, the Oudh Government had no option but to direct its complete revision. Many parganas of Hardui are now found to be over-assessed; parts of Lucknow, Unao, Bharaich, and Bara Banki were in the same predicament; and in every district, except Pratabgurb, there have been considerable arrears of revenue."

The charges contained in these lengthy quotations may be thus briefly stated.—(1) The enhanced demand was enforced before subordinate rights were determined; (2) or before individual responsibilities had been arranged in villages held by communities of proprietors and sub-proprietors; and (3) before the proprietors had time to complete their rent arrangements in accordance with the revised demand. We proceed to answer these charges in detail:—

(1.)—*The enhanced demand was enforced before subordinate rights were determined.* The orders bearing on this matter were, that where the subordinate tenure extended to a whole village, the rent of the sub-proprietor was, if possible, to be fixed before the new demand was enforced.

In a large number of cases this was done; and where it was found impossible, a temporary course was under special sanction adopted (but this fact has never been noticed, even in any of the attacks on this assessment), by which the profits of the village were to be equally halved between the superior and subordinate proprietors, until their relative rights in the rents should be finally determined. Nothing under the circumstances could have been fairer than this; and the principle that the profits should be equally halved between these parties was, with all the facts before it, afterwards adopted when Act XX. of 1866, the Oudh Sub-settlement Law, was enacted by the Legislature. Moreover the passing of that law involved the re-opening and re-adjusting of the rents of all sub-settlements that had up to that time been carried out throughout the Province. Will it be argued that this fact alone is sufficient to brand the authorities of that day with being hard-hearted and extortionate, inasmuch that they did not at once return the enhanced demand which by that time had, in many instances, been in force for several years? But in these attacks no discrimination has been used,—the argument of hardship has been accepted in the concrete, whether the subordinate right referred to a whole village, or to a single field or grove only; from which it may be inferred that the contention is that until every subordinate right, however insignificant, had been disposed of, no revised demand should have been enforced.

If this be correct, then the answer is, that in that case the enforcement of the enhanced demand would have been postponed till the millennium; because cases of the sort are still of such frequent occurrence, that it was found necessary, so recently as January 1874, especially to exempt them from the operation of the stamp law. In the novel and difficult circumstances in which divergences of opinion in very high quarters had then unfortunately placed the Oudh settlement department, the best that

was possible was done by its local members, by resort to personal influence in making unpopular laws as little hateful as possible, by bringing about compromises and by all other legitimate means; and it ill-becomes those who have not shared the heat and burden of that trying time, and whose own lot has been cast in easier places, now to throw stones at those who in their day not only merited, but also received commendation and reward.

(2.)—*Before individual responsibilities had been determined.* Anything more unreasonable than this objection cannot well be imagined. The determination of the responsibility of the brotherhood has never been supposed to have anything to do with the assessment of the Government revenue, till the two processes have become confused in the minds of those who might have been expected to know better. Hear Mr. Thomason on this subject:—

“There are two distinct operations in the formation of a settlement. The one is Fiscal, the determination of the Government demand—the other Judicial, the formation of the record of rights. Ordinarily the two operations are performed at the same time. * * But if, from any cause the judicial part was omitted when the fiscal was performed, there is no reason why the former should not be subsequently carried into execution.”

Again, when the two steps can be taken together, it should be in this order: “*First*, the adjustment of boundaries; *second*, the survey; *third*, the assessment; *fourth*, the record of rights.” Finally, Mr. Thomason points out that “the assessment having determined the value of the property in the land, it then becomes necessary to declare the rights possessed in that property.”

As a matter of fact, Mr. Duncan's far-famed Permanent Settlement was carried out and enforced early in the century, but it was not till 1840 that the coparcenary responsibilities of the brethren were finally determined. The assessment of the large Allahabad district was completed and enforced in a single year by Sir Robert Montgomery, but no one will suppose that this included the preparation of the tables of village responsibilities? So that it would seem that our detractors demand a procedure from the late Oudh settlement staff not contemplated in the Thomasonian philosophy, or attempted here or elsewhere. Moreover, the objection is made generally, as applying to all estates, without reference to the well-known fact that in a large portion of these which are held by single owners only, such as Talukdars, Zemindars, loyal grantees, &c., there are no co-sharers at all, and consequently in all of these no paper of individual responsibilities is even required: was the revenue of all to be postponed, pending the adjustments of the coparcenary responsibilities of the few? It is difficult at all times to bring the men-

bers of a numerous community together for any given purpose ; but let it once be understood by the people that the enhanced revenue will not be introduced until they have been assembled and have signed the paper, of individual responsibility, and this difficulty will be increased a thousandfold.

(3)—*The new demand was realized before the proprietors' rent arrangements were completed.* It is beyond measure strange that this objection has, so far as we know, been taken against the Faizabad assessment alone, to which, of all others in Oudh, it is least applicable. In that settlement Mr. Thomason's principle was from the very first carefully carried out, which requires that "when the Government fixes its demand upon an estate, i.e., at the time of settlement, the Government officer is competent to fix the rates payable by the cultivators to the proprietors;" and no sooner were the assessments of a Pargana declared, than officials were appointed to have rents adjusted under para. 135, Settlement Directions, modified by the Financial Commissioner's orders of the 6th June 1865, No. 1216.—So little care have our detractors taken to make sure of their facts, that we may mention that the Faizabad system of having rents adjusted when the new assessments were given out, found such favour in the eyes of Sir Henry Davies, that it was suggested by him for adoption to all the other officers of the department. Under this procedure innumerable leases were exchanged and many rent Schedules were given in—and yet it is said that landowners in this matter had not fair play!

Again, much has been made of the circumstance, that owing to the impecuniosity of Lord Mayo's Government, the loyalty of the Administration led it into the injustice of unduly hurrying on the realization of the enhanced Government demand. This charge, like the last, is made generally, and of course it is intended to extend to the entire district: but as a matter of fact it does not apply to even half of it. The Faizabad district consists of 13 Parganas or Sub-divisions. Into six of these the new assessments had already been introduced before the financial difficulties referred to even commenced. In two others a further year of grace was allowed under the Financial Commissioner's special orders of the 3rd December 1868. So that only five Parganas are left to which the objection can in any way whatever apply; and when we say that, in these five Sub-divisions even, the proprietors had from 6 to 11 months allowed them within which to make their rent arrangements, and during which they were being actively assisted in their adjustments in the manner above pointed out by the officers of the department, we hesitate not to say that this objection is wholly untenable, and grossly unfair to those at whom it is levelled.

So far our remarks have referred to Mr. Connell as a critic; we now proceed to consider him as a settlement reformer. Mr. Connell's principal suggestion in this direction is that great efforts should be used to obtain correct and well-scrutinized rent-rolls, and that Government should be content to accept half the rental obtained from this source. Such a proposal at once evinces the want of practical experience of its author, and shows that a very hopeful pupil has become prematurely a most unsafe guide, as we shall now proceed to demonstrate:—

(1).—It has in all time been found simply impossible to obtain anything like a really reliable rent-roll, and we have only to let it be known to landowners that hereafter the rent-roll is to be the basis of assessment, and the difficulty will be immeasurably increased. Forgery and perjury will be more resorted to than ever, and in the end, what chance will a Canúngo or a Tehsildar or an Extra Assistant have in the course of testing a few rent-rolls annually, when he will have banded against him every Zemindar and every Patwari in the Province, striving by every means in his power to mislead him, and so vitiate the declared basis of the Government assessment. The proposal to turn the Patwaries into Government servants, does not, it need hardly be said, mean turning them into honest men; nor are Oudh Canúngos people who, in a matter of such vital importance, can be safely relied on. In the result the people and the Mofussil officials will, of a surety, make common cause against the Government, and in the circumstances any chance of successfully testing rent-rolls by Assistants and Extra Assistant Commissioners may at once be abandoned as futile. It is useless to tell us that combinations will easily be frustrated if the Rent Courts will only decree arrears in accordance with the rent-rolls.

But the fact is that the litigation for arrears in which tenants-at-will are concerned, and it is these that the argument chiefly concerns, is but limited, and in any such case, were the tenant to plead the rent-roll entry, he knows that it would speedily be followed by a notice of ejectment. In the circumstances, there is no escape from the admission that under such a system we should be at the mercy of the proprietors and Patwaries; and the proposal, in all its simplicity and nakedness, means neither more nor less than the Assessing Officer abnegating his functions to the village Patwari and contenting himself with the undignified and mechanical operation of dividing such figures as may be placed before him by two, and so fixing the Government demand.

It must not be forgotten that there is such a thing as a rent-roll based on rack-rents as well as one in which rents are understated, and one of our principal reasons for laying rent-rolls aside in Faizabad, was that those of Sir Maun Singh and other large

landowners were so high, that an assessment based on them could not possibly work. If Mr. Connell thinks the present Faizabad settlement excessive, what would it have been if his reformed plan had been followed, of accepting half the rack-rented results we refer to, in these principal estates? The utmost efforts elsewhere have entirely failed to produce reliable rent-rolls. In the N.-W. P. the Patwari has long been declared to be a Government servant, and has been taught land surveying amongst other sciences. Patwari circles have been introduced, so as to allow fair remuneration to every member of the body. Years have been spent by officers of all grades, and of every degree of intelligence, in attempts to secure by careful testing, something like reliable village accounts, and the end finally gained, in the words of Mr. Buck, late Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and now Director-General of Patwaries and their papers, N.-W.P., has been no more than this:—"Fraudulent rentals are put forward now, but we settlement officers cannot discover which are fraudulent and which are true. We have therefore to found our estimate of the agricultural value of each village, on facts unconnected with its individual rent-roll. We find that certain classes of land can, and do, in a sufficient number of well-investigated cases, bear certain rents, and we apply those rates to the land of each village and assess on the result." The advantage of assessing by rent rates, as was done at Faizabad, was so clearly pointed out in our last number, that it is needless to dwell on the mistakes that our young author has made in speaking of them.

So much for the Patwari from the Government point of view; if we look at him as a Government servant from the point of view of the people, we are reminded of the saying of the old Punjab Chief, "the Mahomedan *raj* was bad, the Sikh *raj* was worse, but the *Patwari raj* that now prevails here, is the most intolerable of all; do protect us from it"!! And yet it is practically to these Patwaries that Mr. Connell would entrust the revenue assessments of the country!

(2).—Again, Mr. Connell is an admirer of, and would carry out the plan of revenue assessments, such as they were, of the Emperor Akbar and his Dewan Todar Mal. He has scarcely, we fear, apprehended what it was that he was recommending. Akbar's assessments were little other than such as we have already described as being in force when we annexed Oudh. Their distinctive feature was that they were intended to be made *annually* by the *Canungos*; and this being so, they were supposed to be made with reference to *existing* assets alone, and very naturally prospective capabilities were not taken into account. But our settlements are made for *thirty years*, and with some intelligent reference to the probable profit and

loss of the proprietors during that long period of time. And for this reason it has been held by the eminent revenue authorities who have gone before us, that it is but equitable to the State in fixing its demand, to take *prospective* as well as *existing* capabilities fully into consideration. Nothing, they argued, was more likely to induce honest husbandmen to wish to break up waste-land and make it pay, than assessing revenue lightly upon it. And this introduces us to (3), the question of the assessment of waste-lands generally.

Mr. Connell propounds the opinion that fallow land as well as waste or jungle, should not be assessed, and he remarks as follows:—"As an instance of an excessive taxation on the waste-lands, we refer the reader to the assessment of Faizabad in Oudh. The Chief Commissioner on page 6 of the Oudh Revenue Report for 1873-74 notes that, in the Commissioner's opinion, 'the assessment put on waste was excessive,' and there appears to be little doubt that this was one of the causes which rendered the breakdown of that assessment inevitable." This last we believe to be Mr. Connell's, and not the Chief Commissioner's opinion!

Lands, which in the absence of manure must every now and then be left fallow for a year or two, have always been assessed as cultivated land, and no sufficient reason has been assigned in the papers before us for altering this procedure. The more population and the consequent enhanced manure supply of the country go on increasing, the less will become the necessity hereafter for this sort of fallow, and there is no reason whatever for not rating it fairly. In many parts of Faizabad where sugarcane is largely grown, brushwood produces as good a return as is yielded by indifferent cultivation, and we cannot see why Government should suffer, because the owner prefers growing brushwood which pays him as well, to the coarser sorts of grain for which he cannot always find a market. As this brushwood finds no place in the rent-rolls, on which Mr. Connell would solely rely, we have another clear indifferent argument here to show the faithlessness of such a basis of assessment as that proposed. As a matter of fact, the Faizabad waste was most moderately treated, and the mistake of those who think otherwise, has arisen from comparing a densely-populated, healthy district like Faizabad, with scarcely any scrub now left in it, with sparsely-peopled, malarious districts like Gonda and Bahraich, many parts of which are still covered with heavy jungle. As to the remark that "the assessment put on waste is excessive," it is just as untrue as the one which followed it, that "this was one of the causes which rendered the breakdown of that (the Faizabad) assessment inevitable." There has been no breakdown whatever in that assessment that can in any way be traced to those who

made it, and any difficulties that have arisen are due simply to the changes amongst officers, involving as they do a want of continuity in the system of administration, and to the want of fiscal aptitude on the part of those who ought to have done better. This charge of "excessive assessment of waste" was, as soon as he heard it, answered by the writer in the following terms, with what success he will express no opinion.

"From first to last this rule was followed in assessing waste. So much land was set aside for the village cattle, and on this no more than the pepper-corn rate of 2 annas a bigha was assessed; all culturable waste beyond that limit was estimated at 8 annas a bigha. The corresponding figures in acres were shown as 3 annas and 13 annas respectively. If it was found that this gave an aggregate amount on waste likely to clog the enterprise of the owner, a reduction was allowed from that aggregate, to bring the amount within his means. The system was highly thought of by practical men at the time, and by no one more so than by so good and experienced judges as Sir William Muir, and Mr. F. O. Mayne, *vide* one of his Annual Reports when Commissioner of the division. Now for results. Three-fourteenths, or more than one-fifth of the whole area of the Faizabad district is put down in the field survey, as *barren and unassessable*. But no one will for a moment suppose that this is absolutely correct. As a matter of fact there are numerous large plains that I could name, which have been entered as barren, although they have many productive spots over their surface. These were not assessed because it was doubtful whether they would be cultivated during the current settlement. Here I claim to have margin No. I, to the credit of my light assessment of waste, and of the district. Again, according to the revenue survey, the area of *assessable* waste in the district was 322,616 acres: by the field survey it was 234,866. Our rule, for which there is high authority, was to assess on the field survey return of assessable waste only, so that the difference between these two sets of figures, or 87,750 acres more or less, remained unassessed, and this constitutes item No. II to the credit of my light assessment of waste. On the 234,866 acres of waste which were assessed, we put, according to the rule given above, Rs. 58,554. This gives a rating of $1\frac{1}{4}$ annas an acre on the field survey area, and less than 3 annas on that of the revenue survey. Moreover, the whole of the culturable waste of the Kandassa Pargana, *viz.*, 13,618 acres, was released from assessment altogether; and on the entire Faizabad Tehsil, whereas under our local rule we might have taken Rs. 24,182 on the culturable waste, we, in reality, took no more than Rs. 7,362 or Rs. 16,820 less. This is proof No. III of a moderate assessment of waste. It was not an uncommon practice formerly

to treat groves as culturable waste, and to assess them accordingly. In Oudh a liberal policy in this respect was followed, and groves up to 10 per cent of the village area, were released from assessment. Under this rule, 71,891 acres of grove were left free, and 3,869 acres only were assessed according to their capabilities. Had Government maintained the old North-West Province procedure of assessing these groves, and had the rule followed by Mr. Wynyard in Amballa been adopted of charging 2 annas a tree, the annual revenue to Government from this source alone, would have been nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees; or had they been rated as culturable waste, under the rule detailed above, as is the more usual course, the Government share would have been close on 60,000 rupees. I claim this as my item of proof No. IV, of a light assessment. Akin to this part of the subject is the Sayer revenue derivable from Mhowah and other trees, and the wild rice, water-nuts, and other products of lakes, bazaar dues, &c., &c. When the famous Azimgarh settlement was made, every item of this nature was added to the sum that constituted the assessment officer's assumed gross rental. In the Faizabad settlement no account was taken of these things. Here, again, I claim consideration for the lightness of my assessment in item No. V. I point not without satisfaction to these figures, and I ask where is the proof of the comprehensive, unlimited, and unsupported assertion that "*the assessment put on waste is excessive?*"

But we must now hasten to a conclusion. If there was one influential native of Oudh more than another, who by every possible means would have resisted over-assessment, that man was the late Maharaja Sir Maun Singh; yet, hear what he publicly proclaimed of the Faizabad assessments, in the Talukdar's Association, as set forth in their published proceedings: "Chowdhri Sarfaraz Ahmed Sahib, adverting to the mode observed in valuing the capabilities of lands during the present settlement operations in the province, said that, before approaching the Chief Commissioner with any representation on the subject some one among the members should be deputed to wait on the Settlement Commissioner, and submit to him the sentiment of the association respecting it. On the motion of Rajal Wazir Chand, seconded by Chowdhri Syed Nawab Ali Khan Bahadur, it was resolved that this duty be entrusted to the Vice-President.

"The Vice-President, Sir Maun Singh, said that he would gladly undertake the duty; and referring to the settlement operations now being carried on by Mr. Carnegie, remarked that the rule observed by that officer, in rating and assessing, is in all respects unobjectionable, for while it protects the rights of the State, it in no way infringes those of the Talukdars,

"That he, the speaker, was of opinion, that were Mr. Carnegie's rule to be observed by all settlement officers, no ground for such complaints would be left as have been made by the members during the present, and in the Committee's meeting of May last."

Among the eminent officers who have guided the past administration none could be more implicitly relied on to discountenance over-assessment in Oudh (where the Talukdari tenure in which they took so deep an interest prevails so largely, and where, by a large section of the community they are still so affectionately remembered) than Sir Charles Wingfield and General Barrow.

The Settlement Commissioner, under whose guidance the—as we shall continue to call it—exceedingly moderate assessment of Oudh was commenced, was Mr. Charles Currie, the inaugurator of the notoriously easy assessment of Bulandshahr. The Financial Commissioner, under whom it progressed, was Sir Henry Davies, in whom, whether as Financial or Chief Commissioner, the peasantry of Oudh ever found an able advocate and a staunch supporter. The Commissioners of Division, who watched more especially the Faizabad assessments, were such men as Henry Stewart Reid, and the ever-to-be-lamented F. O. Mayne, each of whom went from Faizabad to take his seat in due course at the Sudder Board of Revenue. Surely in names such as these we have some guarantee, that a settlement conducted under their auspices cannot have been other than suitable and moderate.

Finally, it is at all times a painful task to have to defend measures with which we have in any way been personally concerned; but, in this instance, many valued reputations had been openly assailed if not imperiled, and it has therefore been to us a labor of love to defend them from remarks which we know to be undeserved, and which we consider to have been uncalled for.

PATRICK CARNEGIE.

ART. VIII.—EURASIANS AS LEAVEN IN INDIA AND CEYLON.

- 1.—*Papers of Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association*, City Press, Calcutta, 1876.
- 2.—*Addresses of Governors of Ceylon to Legislative Council*, Vol. I.
- 3.—*The Ceylon Hansard*. Vols. I. to VI.
- 4.—*The Ceylon Ordinances : Authorized Edition*.
- 5.—*The Ceylon Blue Book for 1875*.
- 6.—*The Ceylon Directory and Hand-book for 1876*.

EVENTS have proved that it is not very difficult in these days of rapid locomotion, when all parts of a widely-extended Empire are bound together by the iron bonds of railway lines, and when towns are within speaking distance of each other by the telegraphic wire, to move a whole community. The promptitude with which, on beat of tom-tom, the members of a village community assemble under the largest and shadiest tree in the hamlet, has been almost equalled by the efforts made to arouse to concerted action the Eurasian in Simla with his brother in Madras, and both, with a central Association in Calcutta. When, in a previous article in this *Review*,* it was remarked of the Burghers of Ceylon, "Looked at in various aspects the history of this people may not be altogether without service to India in regard to the treatment of her poor whites," it was not contemplated that almost immediately after, the Eurasians of India would make a united effort to secure for themselves a more important position and greater influence than they at present possess. The effort that has been made, which a friendly critic has appropriately described as "not merely an association of laborers or tradesmen, but an association of a population," is one particularly deserving of fullest sympathy and heartiest support from all sections of Indian peoples,—from the Hindu and the Mussulman even more than British settlers. In the remarks to be made in this paper, it will be shown that, in regard to a similar class in an island practically one with India, a generous and fair treatment of the offspring of mixed races has resulted in bringing much that is good and progressive in English social and political life close to the people, until the land has come to approximate more to the English standard of national existence than to the Indian. About sixty years ago the Burghers of Ceylon occupied a

* "The Eurasians of Ceylon," *Calcutta Review*, July 1876, page 174.

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position similar to that of the Eurasians of India at the present moment. That was then done for them which the Eurasians are now doing for themselves, though there were opportunities for the Burghers the like of which it would be hard to find in India at the present time. As soon as British rule became consolidated in Ceylon, it was found that in the fairly-educated European descendants, the authorities had to their hand material which could be manipulated for the thousand and one inferior offices rendered necessary by the complex systems of modern Government. The Ceylonese proper were altogether unacquainted with the English tongue, and, generally, were not apt for the performance of the duties required; and, therefore, opportunity was given to the Burghers. It was, however, mainly to the exertions and influence of one man that the Burghers were able to attain a position of importance in the community. And it is only as one man, Eurasian for choice—failing that, an Englishman—becomes thoroughly possessed as with an apostle's ardour, with the desire to knit together and uplift the Eurasian community, that real and lasting good will result from the present movement. The hour has struck: will the man appear? In Ceylon, in the early years of the century, Sir Alexander Johnston, first King's Advocate fiscal, and subsequently Chief Justice and President of Council, constituted himself the champion of the Burghers, and wrought great things on their behalf. The policy for which he laboured with great devotion finds expression in remarks he penned in regard to a petition from certain East Indians to Parliament in 1830, expressions which acquire an added force at this time from the present action of the Eurasians. Writing to Mr. John W. Ricketts of Calcutta (himself an East Indian), Sir Alexander Johnston wrote:—"I have always been of opinion that, in policy, "His Majesty's Government ought to show marked respect to all persons, who are either descended from Europeans, or who bear any resemblance in features, manners, dress, religion, language, and education to Europeans, and thereby constantly associate in the minds of the natives of the country an idea of respect and superiority with that of a European, and with that of every thing which is characteristic of, or connected with, a European." In furtherance of these views he described what, in his opinion, was the course the Government of Ceylon should follow in regard to the Burghers, remarking—"In justice it ought to do everything in its power to place the native Burghers of that island in a situation which may enable them to acquire the respect and esteem of their countrymen, and which may make it their interest and their wish, as well as their duty to support the authority and promote the views of the British nation. It ought to encourage them to improve their moral character, and

"to cultivate their understanding, by affording them the same prospects that Europeans enjoy, of attaining, if they desire them, situations of the highest honour and of the greatest emolument in all the different departments of the State." The policy thus formulated was never adopted in so many words by the authorities of Ceylon, but its spirit was, to a great extent, made the rule of guidance, and its effects are to be seen on every hand at the present time; they found fullest development in the knighting of the late Queen's Advocate, Richard Morgan, and placed him on the Bench as Chief Justice. Yet, further, is it meet at this juncture to quote Sir Alexander Johnston's protest against treating with contumely and scorn this section of the community, a class whose interests he warmly espoused. "His Majesty's Government," he said, "ought not to consider the exclusion by law, for no fault of their own, but merely on account of their complexion, of so valuable a class of loyal subjects, as systematically degrading them in the eyes of their countrymen, and as subjecting them on every occasion, in private and in public, amongst Europeans and natives, however respectable, however well-educated, and however deserving they may be, to the most unmerited contumely and the most painful mortifications." He then went on to allude to the introduction of tuition in arts and sciences, and moral and political institutions, urging especially the establishment of vernacular journals (this was in 1810) to be given over to the people as soon as they had learned how to use this machinery.* His estimate of the good that would result from a generous policy was thus stated:—

That it [the Government] ought to consider the native Burghers in the Island of Ceylon as valuable auxiliaries in carrying into effect all such measures, and in bringing about all such changes, as are calculated to improve the moral and political character of the natives of that island.

And, finally, that it must, so far from diminishing its popularity and endangering its authority, increase the former and affirm the latter by exalting the character and conciliating the affections of all the native Burgher who are settled in different parts of the island; who, from the circumstances of their birth, are thoroughly acquainted with the language, habits, manners, usages and prejudices of the natives; and who, from the circumstances of their descent, their features, their names, their religion, their laws, their education, and their language, must, if wisely protected, feel themselves bound by every tie of affection and interest to adhere at all times to the British Government, and to consider their importance, if not their existence in society, as depending upon the continuance and strength of the British authority in India.

* Undoubtedly the suggestion was obtained from the fact that the Government of Ceylon were newspaper proprietors, inasmuch as a portion of the weekly *Government Gazette* was devoted to the publications of such

events as now appear in the local journals. This practice was continued till 1833, when newspapers proper were established. The Government of Ceylon stands alone in this respect.

Entertaining these opinions, I felt it to be my duty, as soon as I became Chief Justice and President of His Majesty's Council in Ceylon, to advise His Majesty's Government to place every descendant of a European on that island, whatever his complexion might be, precisely upon the same footing as a European; to look upon him as having the same rights and privileges, as subject to the same criminal and civil laws, and as eligible to the same appointments in every department of Government. Upon my recommendation native Burghers were appointed to the offices of registrar, keeper of the records, advocates, proctors, notaries of the Supreme Court, members of the landrards, secretaries of the provincial courts, sitting Magistrates, justices of the peace, and superintendents of the police, to the office of proctors for paupers, a situation of great responsibility, created by Government at my suggestion, for the specific purpose of protecting the rights of paupers and slaves, to that of deputy advocate fiscal, and, under certain circumstances, even to that of acting advocate fiscal, an officer next in rank in the Supreme Court to the chief and puisne Justices, and discharging duties in that Court of great trust and importance to the safety of the Government and the tranquillity of the country.

In consequence of the adoption by Government of this line of policy, the native Burghers on the island of Ceylon acquired a high value for character, and a powerful motive for improving their understanding, for cultivating every branch of knowledge, for making themselves acquainted with the arts, the sciences and manufactures, and the agriculture of Europe; they enjoyed a further opportunity of displaying their talents, and extending their influence amongst their countrymen, and they felt a pride in exerting that influence in favour of the British Government, and in promoting, amongst the natives of the island, all such measures as were calculated to improve the state of the country and to ameliorate the condition of the people.

Not only politically, but socially also, was this high encomium peculiarly appropriate, and the Leaven has worked so thoroughly, and citizen and national life have developed so much, that whilst the projectors of the Eurasian Association in India are driven to pen the following paragraph—

I wish, however, to press upon you the fact that the Association disclaims—in the fullest and widest sense of the term—all intention to intermeddle with anything of a political character, or criticise the actions of Government in any way whatsoever. The difficulties against which we have already to contend are sufficiently numerous and grave, and it would therefore be the crassest folly to create others, which can scarcely fail to alienate those in authority, who seem disposed to aid us.

the Burgher of Ceylon is compelled—by the force of the circumstances he has been a powerful factor in creating, a beneficent Frankenstein—compelled to mix largely in politics, and does so with credit to himself and with advantage to the State.

It was shown in this *Review* in July last that the Euro-Asians of Ceylon had risen high in every profession and walk in life in which they were engaged, and it needs not that these facts should be again stated. Indeed, a notable step in advance may be taken, a higher plateau reached, and the consideration of the solution of a great problem in the progress of oriental nations be shown as one out-come of the free and (generally speaking) generous

policy exhibited towards the Burghers. That solution is the fitness of a whole nation, hitherto under despotic rule, for the right and proper use of Representative Government. Assuredly, with nations as with individual men, "that which ye sow ye shall also reap," and while the pages of history are crowded with instances showing the evil results of a cruel and unjust policy, it is gratifying to find that, in contrast to these, can be placed some as fruitful and loud-voiced for good as others are for evil.

Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war ;
And this is of them.

In all the social and political results to be described and detailed hereafter, the Burgher influence must count as nine-to-one against purely English influence. This may be estimated by any Indian reader of this *Review* who will gaze from the outside at his own position and the actual influence he brings to bear upon the Indians around him, and with whom he is brought into contact. Social contact being confined to matters of business or formal acts of politeness, no impress is made upon the life, changing the current of being. It is hard to say how much would be left of distinctively English characteristics, apart from those adopted by Eurasians; hard to say, because it is to be feared the amount would be infinitesimal. Even in Ceylon, where social life is half-a-century ahead of that in the most favoured and progressive of presidency towns, the Burgher is far more to the indigenous Ceylonese than is the European, however much the latter may be loved, and the reason is not far to seek.

A break may, perhaps, be best made at this point to express the sense in which the Eurasian Association is viewed by the Burghers of Ceylon. Whilst, undoubtedly, a vigorous branch would be established, and pecuniary assistance be rendered by those well-to-do in the community, it is felt that a Ceylon Association would, necessarily, have a *quasi-separated* position. The freer air and broader national life of the island would demand diverse modes of action. There are points of difference, as well as features in common, between the Eurasian and the Burgher; and it is right that the former should be dwelt upon as well as the latter. The idea of joining Anglo-Indians with Eurasians in the same Association is felt to be a sound one; and the warm and hearty sympathy, which apparently has been expressed in India, finds echo in Ceylon. If a large scheme is carried out it is felt that a Bank would be necessary, but financial arrangements must be worked on the basis of a fixed deposit, safe from reverses, otherwise defective monetary arrangements may upset the best matured plans. A Family Annuity Fund should be sketched by competent Actuaries. It would be scarcely wise to

attempt to encourage providence and thrift by making the rates higher than Bank rates. It would be sounder to follow Bank rates. To assist enhanced rates by aid from the Association Fund would be unwise. As soon as one scheme failed the other would be affected and the provident scheme would collapse. Object 5, *viz* :—"To encourage habits of thrift and providence amongst the members, so that families might be saved from destitution or distress from the untimely death of any member," should, therefore be re-defined, the scheme being left to professional actuaries to draft after the manner of benefit clubs and insurance companies. A Eurasian Association Savings' Bank should surely be successful. Amongst the stipulations might be one, that deposits should not be withdrawn within a certain term, and that interest be regularly payable at the end of six or twelve months. All moneys paying interest to depositories, are of course considered to be invested in securities at fairly high interest. The nature of Indian securities and mortgages are such that surely six per cent. need not be spoken of so diffidently as it is in Circular No. 2. Certainly to the Ceylon mind there is undue caution in this respect. Again, too, the door should not be shut and barred against donations from those who are outside the Association. In proceeding from appealing cries to Government to resolute self-help, there is no necessity for the responsible parties to fly off at a tangent, and consider their independence compromised and their self-respect tarnished, by receiving donations. Such gifts from wealthy Eurasians and others, and legacies, might form the nucleus of funds which might prove of inestimable service. One thing above all others should be borne in mind, even if the Association has to walk slowly for many days, and that is, that the expenses should be kept within the monthly subscription income. The 'Mutual Aid' idea should only be developed from this source. The foundation fund should be jealously guarded, and allowed to increase until it formed a capital sum calculated to be of use. One more detail may be noticed. Sir Richard Temple's proposition to place one hundred lads in the Doveton College is sound and practical. The idea is reasonable and full of promise, and whilst more elaborate and ambitious schemes are being formulated, this might be carried out; special care, however, being taken that the Association does not sink into a mere society for the due carrying out of this proposal. Ceylon experience most clearly shows that Eurasians admitted to equal education with Mussulmans and Hindus will always exhibit an equal per centage of cultured ability; one thing being borne in mind,—and there is nothing which the writer of this article would more strongly impress upon his Eurasian friends than this,—the adoption of Mussulman and Hindu principles on one point at least: absti-

nence from intoxicating liquors. The neglect of this is the only great obstacle in the way of the Burghers of Ceylon being more influential than they are now. It would be no unworthy infringement of the "liberty of the subject" if each of the hundred Doveton College lads were induced to take the Temperance pledge,—from conviction if possible—and there are abstainers in sufficient force in Calcutta to put the youthful mind in a right channel in this respect; if not, it should be made a *sine qua non*. Abstinence in the East, as in the West, is the student's friend and the poor clerk's savings' bank, besides being an insurance against indulgence in mature years. One secret of the competitive success of Mussulman and Hindu students and of Moorish and Chetty traders (in Ceylon), is the coolness and readiness of resource they can always depend upon, derived from this source.

The Eurasian Association scheme is full of promise for good and for usefulness of an eminent kind. What service it will render to Indian social life must be left for the historian of the future to record; if it should serve in any measure to make of the Eurasians what has been made of their kindred in "India's utmost isle," there are none who should look with greater favour upon the movement than Indians of all races, with whom the Eurasians are so nearly connected by ties of blood, and with whom they have so much in common. Political efforts are expressly discarded by the promoters of the Association, and rightly so: nevertheless there is that in the course of events, and in connection with this link between the brother Aryans of the West and of the East, that men like the Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, and Babu Anandamohan Bose, Secretary of the Science Association, to take two representative Hindus, should find much in the Association-proposals to ensure their warmest sympathy and support.

At page 201 of this *Review* for July 1876, it was said:—

The reference to the 'paternal' rule of Ceylon opens up a question far too large to be dealt with at the close of a paper like the present, but in regard to the future of the Burghers [as of other sections of the community] it is of vital and pressing interest. The question is—whether or not the time has come when a representative government should be established, and the people entrusted with the franchise? The writer thinks it has. Reasons in favour of this being conferred might be multiplied. . . . In an early number of this *Review* we hope to be able to show the fitness of the natives for the franchise, and the good its conferment upon them would do; the advancement of the whole island which would certainly follow."

We now take up this pledge.

I

AN OPEN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL: THIRTY-THREE YEARS' WORK

"There is no more important Institution in the Island than this

"Council. Whatever be the estimation in which it is held by the official or unofficial community here, I know that it is held in high estimation by English Statesmen, who look to it as the centre of much good. Mr. Bright has referred to it in eulogistic terms.* And on the extension of English liberalism, as involved in the establishment of Colonial Councils, even, Lecky, the historian, has many a thrilling period. It will be a disgrace therefore that in a British dependency any misunderstanding should prevent the full development of liberal institutions of which Englishmen are so proud that they have conferred them on us; and of which the natives of this country should be equally proud, in that they find in them the nucleus of self-government."

These words were uttered in stentorian tones by a Tamil legislator (Sir, then Mr. Coomara Swamy) in whose voice could not be traced the slightest foreign accent. The occasion was the discussion of a motion impliedly censuring the authorities for curtailing the period of the session, and the remarks were made on a hot, oppressive afternoon in December 1872; the scene was the Legislative Council Chamber of Ceylon, where, around a large table of a horse-shoe pattern, sat sixteen gentlemen, ten officials, six unofficial nominees: the assembly was presided over by the Governor of the colony, *ex-officio*. Over all, pendant from the star-gilt ceiling, swung slowly a heavy punkah, which contributed a little coolness to the fervid temperature. The remarks, to a stranger, might seem a little magniloquent, perhaps not incorrectly, so far as the present constituted council as an aid to liberalism is concerned. Such, however, is not altogether the case. It is true that so apathetic have the inhabitants of the colony shown themselves about the farce of representation which obtains in that assembly, that only on rare occasions do the public go to hear the speeches or witness the procedure. Yet the institution

* Doubtless this allusion is to the following passage from one of the Right Hon'ble John Bright's speeches on India, delivered in the House of Commons on June 24th, 1858. Alluding to Presidency Councils, the Hon'ble Member said:—"I should propose to do that which has been done with great advantage in Ceylon. I have received a letter from an officer who has been in the service of the East India Company, and who has told me of a fact which has gratified me much. He says:—'At a public dinner at Colombo in 1835, to the Governor, Sir Wilmot Horton, at which I was present, the best speech of the evening was made by

a native nobleman of Kandy, and a Member of Council. It was remarkable for its appropriate expression, its sound sense, and the deliberation and ease that marked the utterance of his feelings. There was no repetition or useless phraseology or flattery, and it was admitted by all who heard him to be the soundest and neatest speech of the night.' That was in Ceylon. It is not, of course, always the best man who can make the best speech; but if what I have read could be said of a native of Ceylon, it could be said of thousands in India."—*Speeches of John Bright*, vol. i., p. 52.

has a history of its own which is worth telling: a description of the work it has done will show that it has existed to good purpose, and that the time has now come when it should give place to a House more in accordance with the times, and, what is of greater importance, with the improved position of the people and their increased fitness for a measure of self-rule. Ceylon is a Crown Colony, and a Crown Colony is described in an authorised publication, "The Colonial Office List," as a colony "in which the Crown has the entire control of legislation, while the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the Home Government."

When, in 1833, Ceylon was entrusted with a deliberative council to assist the Governor in legislation, the island bore but little resemblance to the actively commercial and busily intellectual country it now is. The only article of export of commercial importance was cinnamon. This was a monopoly in the hands of Government, and upon good prices being obtained for it depended whether there would be a deficit or surplus when the year's accounts were made up: the authorities were, for the nonce, dry goods' traders, watching every fluctuation in the market with feverish eagerness. Little connection was had with the mountainous interior, which was full of mountains covered with dense forests; roads there were practically none, save the great artery formed by Sir Edward Barnes, the aorta of island communication. The plains outside the mountain zone were inhabited by an ignorant population of agriculturists, ignorant from their isolation; while all over the land, the Buddhists priests were sunk in sloth, and altogether unmindful of conferring "merit" upon the people by calling them together to hear "bana." The finances of the island were burdened with a heavy military charge, and deficits were chronic, the island being saved from almost Turkish bankruptcy by a series of successful pearl fisheries. Taking the year 1834 as the first in which a record of schools appears in the Blue Book, by reference to a few statistical statements an idea of the (then) position of the colony may be obtained. With a revenue of £377,952 there was a military force of 6,227 men. In 1875, the revenue was £1,354,123, and the fighting force just overtopped one thousand. In 1834, thanks to the earnest efforts of the missionaries, there were 1,105 schools (800 were private schools, receiving no Government aid) with 13,891 scholars. Forty years later, and herein is, perhaps, the greatest lapse of duty on the part of the English rulers of the Island, there are (1874 returns) only 1,458 schools with 66,385 scholars, while from 1863 to 1871 the number of schools was once as low as 716 and always below one thousand. The annals of forty years ago were undeniably dull, and pall upon the student

of contemporary records. Further, the Governors' speeches, in which one expects to find the largest range as well as the greatest height of the life of the period: during perusal the supposition grows upon the reader that a merchant's circular, dealing with an article of commerce, *viz.*, cinnamon, and having a few extraneous subjects introduced to give colouring and interest, has been substituted for a vice-regal speech. The redeeming feature of the period was the great activity of European and American missionaries in the pulpit and educationally. It does not follow that they were more active,—they were not nearly so many in number,—then than now; but, in those days, so few figures passed across the stage, and the scene was so seldom changed, that the missionaries took a more important place in history than they do now, when the boards are crowded and the stage is diversified with a multitude of groups representing many interests. Scarcely anything touching the Ceylonese appears until Mr. Stewart Mackenzie was Governor: the intense sympathies of a man of more than ordinary culture, a ruler in advance of his times, led him to hew at what was left of the structure of domestic slavery, and to hasten its early fall. In 1829, so unsatisfactory was the state of affairs in Ceylon that a commission, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke and Mr. C. H. Cameron, was appointed by the home authorities. The immediate occasion of the appointment of this commission would seem to have been the financially disastrous position of the colony, already alluded to. In 1827 the revenue was £264,375 and the expenditure £411,648, while in the previous year the deficit was £115,879, nearly half the income, which would be much as if Sir John Strachey were to state in March or April next that whilst the revenue for the year was £50,000,000, expenditure had run up to nearly £90,000,000! Full and exhaustive reports were made by the commissioners, and the outcome of their enquiry was the establishment of an improved system of judicature. Amongst other things recommended, was the establishment of a Legislative Council, and a despatch was sent to Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, the Governor, the fourth paragraph of which ran as follows: “. . . . “Now we do hereby signify and declare, our pleasure to be; that the said Legislative Council of our Island of Ceylon, shall always consist of fifteen persons [exclusive of the Governor], of whom nine shall be at all times persons holding offices within the said Island at our pleasure, and the remaining shall at all times be persons not holding such offices.” The constitution of this assembly was confessedly imperfect. At that time even, prior to the passing of the first English Reform Bill, it was felt that such a council, not elective in any sense, and representative only through nomination, could not last long. Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke said it was “imperfect,” but very properly remarked that it would “constitute an essen-

tial part of any colonial legislature for which the island may be prepared at a future period." His fellow Commissioner, in words to be subsequently quoted, was even more emphatic in looking upon the proposed council as merely tentative, and introductory only to a representative assembly worthy of the name. The time for that assembly to be called into being has now come; but before attempting to show this from present data, it may be interesting to glance briefly at the work done by this, the first "open" Legislative Council in the East, during the forty years in which it has held its sessions.

In the first days of the new council, dissatisfaction arose; the Governor, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, not filling up the seats of unofficials till the third session, whilst a memorial from aggrieved British merchants regarding this grievance was treated with scant justice. This treatment from such a man was the more surprising as Sir Robert Horton had been a member of a Liberal administration in England, had been a Poor Law Commissioner (his book on Pauperism is useful to the Poor Law Reformer of the present day) and was altogether a man of whom quite the contrary of that which marked his career in Ceylon, would naturally be predicted. The boon of assisting in legislature was given so grudgingly that all grace was taken from the gift, while it was shown in a memorial to the Secretary of State, that had the unofficial seats been filled up, as the memorialists contended they ought to have been, two ordinances which were passed in the first session, which bore hardly upon the people, would have been shorn of the injustice which marked them. Leave to introduce bills was also asked for, but refused—to be granted, however, nearly a score of years later. While there was much in the infant institution to excite ridicule, in some things it commanded admiration. For instance, from the first, the meetings were open to the public, the reason for this being publicly stated, *viz.* that inhabitants of the island and people in England might know what was going on. The House of Commons, in spite of Mr Sullivan's efforts to the contrary in 1875, has not yet reached this honestly-avowed stage. Speech-making was early a characteristic of Ceylon M. L. C.'s; and Indian "exchanges," in days when topics were few for Anglo-Indian journalists to descant upon, would complain that there was nothing in the Ceylon papers save reports of Council proceedings.

The benefits of free trade were early recognised—and that is nearly all, for fiscal arrangements which necessitate the existence of farmers of taxes on locally-grown rice, whose exactions and impositions are described in strong language, still flourish in full force, while imported food bears a burden which falls heavily on the poorer classes of the community. An attempt to deal with food taxes in 1839, led to the abolition of the fish tax, a tithe, and the

fishermen, mainly Romanists, at once voluntarily set apart this sum for religious purposes.

What cannot fail to strike the reader of the "Governors' speeches"—next to the very ordinary nature of their contents, until Mr. Stewart Mackenzie introduced a practice which once marked the chief orators of the House of Commons, *viz.*, quoting from the ancient classics, and reciting lengthy Latin sentences,—is the erratic dates at which the council met. Cause for surprise, however, is taken away, when it is observed that the colony was then so much of a military post, and little else, that the principal measure of one session was an ordinance providing bullock carts as a means of transport for troops. A sort of controlling power over the public purse was given in 1839, but it was not until ten years later that Earl Grey announced in a despatch, the truism that none were so well able to properly spend a nation's money as the legislators of that nation; yet, in little more than a decade of years later, the unofficial members resigned in a body, because the vote for military expenditure was controlled in London instead of at Colombo. Jealousy in this respect is very keenly felt; and the session of 1875-76 was marked by a strong expression of public opinion, stormy personal debates and divisions, because the Secretary of State added £400 a year to the pension of the retiring Chief Justice, Sir Edward Creasy, without consulting the colony. An ordinance to cover this payment had to be withdrawn, pending the publication of despatches for which permission had to be sought. Under pressure through the council and otherwise, avowed Government connection with paganism (the Kandian Convention of 1815 necessitates some connection still) in Ceylon came to an end.

Privilege was precious to the budding legislators of Ceylon as it is to, say, the "superior person" of St. Stephen's, Westminster; and when, in 1840, certain members wished to protest against the passing of an ordinance, when all the forms of the House had been complied with, Governor Stewart Mackenzie said:—"I hold that, 'in point of fact, in this as in every other deliberative, which is also 'a legislative, assembly (except, perhaps, the House of Lords in 'Great Britain), the only legitimate protest of any member is his 'vote against the measure under discussion, which, as the names 'and votes are regularly taken down, forms his recorded protest.'" Even if it were necessary, the facilities in Ceylon do not permit the writer of this to consult authorities on the moot point, which is now conceded to unofficial members of the council; but two facts may be mentioned which go to bear out the correctness of the opinion expressed by the Colonial Governor, *viz.*,—(a) Professor Thorold Roger's "Protests of the Lords," recently published, and (b) Mr. Plimsoll's protest against the abandonment of the Merchants' Shipping Bill in the House of Commons in 1875, which protest

was refused acceptance by Mr. Speaker Brand, and only found its way to the public through copies being given to the reporters to the newspapers.

Railway formation ; Military Expenditure.—(the conduct of Home authorities in this respect was very ungracious) ; Tank Restoration ; Land Registration ; creation of Municipalities, large (in cities and big towns), lesser (in minor towns), and least (village councils) ; have been the other topics which have most exercised the minds of members of the Island Legislature. Viewed in whatever light one may choose, the railway has been most potent in its influence on the land, a type of the material works which help mental and moral progress in the present time. The Ceylon Railway has greatly opened up the country to Europeans and Ceylonese ; it has brought hitherto partially-antagonistic races together ; and has done much to advance the colony almost to the level of more progressive, only because entirely Anglo-Saxon, communities, till there are now few countries to which it need yield the *pas*. The extension of railways now in progress and contemplated will add so much to what has been already attained, that the moderate measure of reform sketched further on in this paper, as needed to meet the wants of the present time, will scarcely suffice to satisfy what will be demanded with energy and persistence. Why, for once in a way, should not political wants be met as they arise, and the injustice which leads to great agitation be avoided ? In Ceylon the Ceylonese travellers contribute the large passenger totals, which it is the pride, annually, of the Traffic Manager, to record : it is the produce of the estates owned and worked by Europeans which contributes its handsome quota to the gratifying result of a large surplus every year.

Consequent upon the strides made in the past few years, equalling what had taken two decades or a generation previously to achieve, a rapid glance at the legislation of the past six years, as recorded in the local *Hansard* volumes may not be inappropriate.

(a) *Finance.*

The custody of the purse and the holding of the purse-strings is altogether in the hands of Government. Honorary members have the right of closely scrutinizing every item, a right they exercise with much persistency, and often with great good to the public. The theory is that no money shall be spent until the sanction of the legislature has been obtained ; but this is not always adhered to, and supplementary votes, to cover expenditure already incurred, are not unknown. The revenue is, all things considered, large. If a similar amount were raised in India, proportionate to the population, hundreds of millions sterling would remain for the disposal of the Finance Minister. In addition

to Rs. 15,000,000 now raised as general revenue, there are Municipal taxes and various local cesses which, in a measure, would correspond with the local expenditure of presidencies and native States. However, it is useless to carry on the comparison between the money-chests of little Ceylon and huge India. Upon some classes of the community, and they among the poorest, taxation falls heavily; in the case of a cooly with a wife and one child living in Colombo, one-twelfth of his year's wages are absorbed in taxation. This is so unjust, and is capable of such facile adjustment, that the anomaly cannot exist long after full light is thrown upon it. Indian publicists, acquainted with the outcry, almost rebellion, which followed in India on the imposition of a direct money tax (on incomes), on visiting Ceylon, generally express almost incredulous surprise on being told that the commonest cooly, in common with all other able-bodied males save immigrant coolies, annually pays in hard cash the equivalent of six days' labour, for the up-keep of the roads. The author of the measure enacting this was Sir Philip Wodehouse, now Governor of Bombay, and it came into operation in 1849. A great injustice involved is, that the rate is not graduated; the wealthy merchant or high-placed civilian paying exactly the same as his cooly or horse-keeper; no more, no less. During the past few years surpluses of large amounts have overflowed the treasury, and most has been spent in "public works of acknowledged utility," as the legislative formula runs. The following table shows the main sources of revenue and expenditure:—

The public debt is very small, and is incurred solely for reproductive works, such as railways and break-water works; in each sinking funds are provided. So prosperous has the island been, that one railway, the extension to Gampola, was constructed out of current revenue, and the debt on a continuation of this line will be redeemed in a very few years, when a hundred miles of the best paying railway in the world will be in the hands of Government, perfectly free of liability. During the earlier days of the council's existence, the proposal was made to raise loans for educational schemes, the loans to be liquidated by a sinking fund added to interest. The proposal, however, was firmly resisted by the (then) Governor, to the lasting detriment of the colony. Save from food taxes, and that on salt, the system on which the revenue is raised is sound: when the Home authorities cease to control the spending of it, there will be cause for congratulation.

(b) Legislation for Ceylonese Interests.

Considering that, according to theory, the affairs of Ceylon are administered by the British for the Ceylonese, one cannot repress an exclamation of surprise at the few measures in the statute book which directly concern the Sinhalese, Tamils, Moormen, and Malays. The reason of this, however, is not far to seek. Slavery disappeared soon after the British took possession of the island. Education was fostered, perfect personal liberty secured to all, without distinction of religion, race, and colour, and an improved system of judicature provided an honest judge: each of these measures was secured with little or no legislation, the Charter having established the superior courts at the time the council was called into existence, while slavery was finally abolished by an ordinance of two short clauses, and education became a matter of administration affected by annual votes in the Supply Bill. Much, indeed, has been done, and, in some respects, the position of the people is better than it was under the native monarchs: possibly, greater haste would have led to less solidity, but this is doubtful. Certain foundations have been laid; the time has now come for a superstructure to be erected upon them, and the people introduced to a wider sense of freedom and larger liberty, by which they may exercise the right of free citizens to control themselves rather than to be controlled by others. The very acts which have been passed by the old council, now straining from enlarged life to burst its bounds, have made this necessary. Give freedom to a people who have soundness at bottom, remove disabilities from their path, and not only does labour on their behalf cease, but they go on to do similar work for others. Seed has been sown and the time for the harvesting of results has come.

In the early days of the council the zeal for education was great; the fruit is seen in the fairly well-educated generation of men who are now fit, with European assistance, to legislate for themselves. The conflicting religious interests of the island, in years gone by, rendered much progress in education extremely difficult; long and stormy were the fights on the subject, until a system of grants-in-aid for purely secular results allayed the storm, and settled the "religious difficulty" which still vexes English statesmen. The energy expended in the struggle, when that struggle came to an end, was not so sedulously turned into the channels of the teaching as ought to have been the case; domestic slavery was gone, and the equality of all men, first taught by the Semitic race under the influence of the teaching of Christ, became a part of the inheritance of the Ceylonese individual. The *gamarala* (villager) suffered much from cattle trespass and cattle stealing, and became greatly demoralized thereby. Government stepped in and checked the evil; later on giving the aggrieved party power, in village council assembled, to do this for himself. Religious bondage, slavery to the soil, which especially fettered the tenants of Temple lands, as *rajakāñña* [enforced labour for the king] had embraced the whole population, certain favoured classes excepted, was made a thing of the past to those who were willing to commute degrading services for a specie payment. Pecuniary aid and scientific assistance were granted to restore the ruined tanks, to repair the retaining bund, to fit in sluices, and once more to cause the precious fluid to lie upon the land and nurture the beautiful green springing blade of the rice-plant. As much was done in a few years as had been completed in a generation of the rule of the old kings, whose deeds, owing to the lapse of years, seem to the strained vision, as it peers across the centuries, fabulously large; and without oppression of the people. Peculiar phases of disease, resulting from bad food and impure water, were specially grappled with, and hospitals erected for the succour of the sick; whilst, in many parts of the land, medical aid, through duly-qualified doctors, was supplied. That the people have not more fully availed themselves of the advantages of European medical treatment, is due mainly to their own prejudices and apathy. When "the skies above are as brass and the land beneath as iron," which, unfortunately, too frequently happens in the East,—in Ceylon, however, thanks to its insular position, less frequently than India,—relief works are opened, and direct assistance given. It is the boast of England that, bad as are her Poor Laws, no one need die of starvation within the four seas of Britain, as sustenance at least is provided; yet a writer in the *Contemporary Review* (September 1875) tells of many authenticated deaths from starvation in one year. So prompt are

the authorities of Ceylon, so watchful the officials, and so pertinacious the unofficial members of council and the press, that no death from lack of food need take place in the island. Very different this to what happened less than a score of years ago, when it was found that several hundred persons had actually died of starvation, and nothing was known of this by the public till the official, who had charge of the district, took his papers from the pigeon-hole of his desk and compiled his annual report. The crowning work of the existing council, above the registration to titles and restriction of entails, so far as purely Ceylonese interests are concerned, was the passing, five years ago, of the Gansabhawa ordinance; by which village municipalities and village tribunals have been revived, and, so far as the administration of communal affairs is concerned, are working with as much perfection as anything human can be expected to attain. One high in authority in Ceylon, in a good position for observing the working of these institutions, says, in a letter: "So far as I can ascertain, everything is working admirably. I once told Sir Hercules Robinson [under whose rule the Gansabhawa ordinance was passed] by letter that had he done nothing else, it ought hereafter to be inscribed on his tombstone, 'he restored Village Councils to Ceylon.' Waves of conquest have rolled over India from Central Asian border-lands to the narrow spit of land where the continent dips into a great waste of waters stretching to the southern pole, but nowhere did conquest remove or overlay the foundation-stone of the Aryan social fabric. The empire changed, and at court, now one conqueror, now another sat on the imperial throne. But the depths of the social strata, the village system of "home rule," and the inhabitants thereof, were little more disturbed than are the minute *globigerina* which are laying a chalk bed in the mid-Atlantic, discomposed by a terrific storm which the while is swamping a stout ship or straining the stanchions of an iron steamer. Only the British "raj," among conquerors in the East, unwittingly applied a sponge to these ancient institutions, and, to some extent, wiped them out. Fruitless and regrettable task—for fuller experience shows that a durable structure of administration by the people for the people, can only be feared on these lines. Consequently, in India the *panchayat* is being revived, and in Ceylon the gansabhawa has been made once more to serve the many wants of village daily life, and to arouse the local ambition and energy of the people which had been crushed by the despotism of the ancient kings. To repeat, British rule in Ceylon has been particularly beneficent; true policy and enlightened statesmanship would argue that the trust and confidence aroused should be taken hold of, fostered, and directed to lasting good. "You have taught me self-govern-

ment, and have raised high hopes and ambition within me," may remark the educated Ceylonese, addressing his present rulers: "Now you will surely not deny me the privilege to exercise my powers? 'You have made of me a man. Stand just a little aside, (I do not mean, go away altogether), and permit me to attempt "manly things." Can the appeal be rejected? Forty and four years already have the people served an apprenticeship: shall they not now enter the Promised Land of Representative Government, for which they have longed, and to rightly appreciate which, all their political training has been directed?"

(c) *European Interests.*

The fact that Ceylon, upon the partial ruin of the West India colonies when slave emancipation took place, rose into importance as a scene of European labour, which might at first sight seem to be a means of keeping back the Ceylonese from self-rule and self-control, has had the exactly contrary effect. Though it may seem as if the legislation of Ceylon during the past forty years has been, in the majority of cases, apparently for European interests, native interests have been *pari passu* served. This is true of nearly all the distinctively European ordinances, though it must be confessed the good which has resulted to the people was not in the original programme, and has merely been an illustration of the truth, that more ends are involved in particular acts than are dreamed of by the promoters. Ordinances have been passed in European interests to aid immigration, providing railway extension, medical aid for coolies, the formation of roads by grants-in-aid from the general revenue. Two ordinances may be specified as specially passed to please the coffee planters, viz., (1) ordinances to exempt manures from tolls, and (2) a bill providing special legislation against coffee stealing. The introduction of the last-named measure caused great commotion, as the well-known maxim of the English common law, "assume every man innocent until he be proved guilty," was altered to making every native who was found on a coffee estate—(estates are unfenced and are "pathed" in every direction) explain for what purpose he was there; if necessity arose, making possessors of picked coffee prove that it was honestly obtained, and prohibiting the possession of green (unripe) coffee under a penalty. Being "special legislation," it was stoutly resisted on the unofficial side of the House, and a long debate ensued. The bill was nevertheless read a second time, but in committee repeated divisions took place. There was much in favour of this measure being passed, and it was drawn up on the recommendation of Sir Edward Creasy, Chief Justice, who had found that high prices had fostered crime, and that the heaviest sentences imposed under the existing law against theft, was inadequate to check the evil.

Two years' working of the ordinance has justified its introduction. District judges and police magistrates are not now much troubled with cases of coffee stealing, though prices have reached, and continue to maintain, an almost unexampled height. What is often asked for in Indian Presidency towns, in the interests of European employers, viz., registration of servants, has been introduced into Ceylon with the best results. The measure was denounced, at its inception, as inquisitorial, but a year's working led to the weeding of bad servants out of the ranks of "helps;" now it is as popular with *employés* as employers, and its operations are to be extended.

Even with its system of nominated representatives, the council has been of great service in educating the people in the use of deliberative assemblies; and it may now be considered what kind of institution is required to meet the necessities of the case were the present Chamber, its work done, removed from the place it has so long occupied. It was created by a despatch from the Colonial Office; it may be removed by equally facile means. Outside agitation for reform may, and will, be carried on. Nothing can be done inside the chamber, as certain instructions to the Governor forbid the question of the constitution of the assembly being broached at any of the meetings by any of the members, a most unfair and arbitrary rule.

II.

THE PEOPLE AS THEY ARE, AND THE CHAMBER THAT IS NEEDED.

"The peculiar circumstances of Ceylon, both physical and moral, seem to point it out to the British Government as the fittest spot, in our Eastern dominions, in which to plant the germ of European civilization, whence we may not unreasonably hope that it will hereafter spread over the whole of those vast territories.—*Report on Judicial Establishments and Procedure in Ceylon*. By C. H. Cameron, 1830-31.

POLITICAL FRANCHISE,

Nil.

The two immediately foregoing lines appear in the centre of a page of the annual Blue Book, and unlike other title-pages in the volume, has no section of details following. There being no political franchise, the question is prompted, in spite of what has already been written, "Is the inhabitant of Ceylon worthy of the franchise, and capable of rightly exercising such a trust?" The late Rev. Spence Hardy, a missionary of long standing in Ceylon, has described its climate by the experience of two individuals, the one reciting all the disadvantages and drawbacks of an oriental clime, the other summarising the many undoubted benefits. If a stranger were not informed that the descriptions referred to one and the same place, he would never of himself infer that they

did so. Similarly, two Englishmen resident in Ceylon may be taken, and if questioned with reference to the people, may give diverse answers. One may say that they are indolent, untrustworthy, unvaracious, pretending to be attached to the British, whilst all the time they bitterly hate them, and so on, until there is not an offence against the decalogue, or sin against society, which they are not guilty of. Another Englishman, one who has mixed much with the people, will remark that undoubtedly the people have some bad qualities,—in short, are human,—that some of them have not the regard and love for truth which Englishmen are reputed to possess, but that they should not be unreasonably blamed on this account, as their antecedents have not been such as to cause them to be devoted to veracity. Subject races, the world over, slaves and others habitually oppressed, have never been notorious for truthfulness. That goes along with freedom. Further, he will say that the Burghers have many intellectual and kindred gifts, particularly those of a kindly nature; that the Tamils are fairly honest in business, energetic and pushing; the Moorman and Malay very good behind the counter, on the bungalow verandah with a pedlar's pack, or as a mason; whilst the Sinhalese, given fair opportunities, are not one whit behind any of their contemporaries of other races in the island; whilst it is as true of the Sinhalese and Tamils as it is of the Burghers that, with moderate facilities, they exhibit intellectual gifts and acquirements which make them the equals, in this respect at least, of Englishmen resident in the colony. It should never be lost sight of in dealing with Eastern races, those in Ceylon in particular, that the manner in which they were ruled in the past was such as to stifle all energy, all personal effort, and to make them mere puppets in the hands of a dissolute monarch surrounded generally with courtiers who fooled their master's whims to the top of their bent. All things considered, the inhabitants of Ceylon, those of Dravidian or Malayan race as well as those of Aryan extraction, have developed a faculty for self-government, and have progressed as rapidly as any race of people could do, with the consequence, that they are now fitted to occupy a higher position in the scale of nations than that they have hitherto filled. Perhaps, of the half-dozen nationalities represented in the population of Ceylon, the true "sons of the soil," the Sinhalese, are least thought of by Europeans as possessing abilities which should entitle them to a position of equality with the alien rulers; yet, known as individuals, they are learned and industrious, and as communities not without a deal of energy. This latter characteristic has been especially displayed in the working of the Village Communities' ordinance; and the administration reports of the Government agents contain many passages which might be

cited in proof of the assertion. Fruit of the richest and ripest kind is being garnered from the agriculturists, a class wanting the active life of the town. 'If this is so in the hidden recesses of the jungle and among paddy-fields, what may not be expected of those in whose minds the leaven of the century is working, who would be the main body of electors in a scheme of reform, by whose suffrages the members of the representative institution for which the colony is now ripe, would be sent to legislate? The success of the Village Communities' ordinance has been turned against it; and some who are not disposed that their Ceylonese fellow-citizens should have equal rights with themselves, object to it, because there have not been rowdy violence and keenly-contested elections when village councils have been formed. That there has been neither bribery nor rowdyism, one would think was rather a proof in favour of the institution than an argument to show that it has failed. It only needs that the Tamils, who have their own governing bodies, meeting weekly for the transaction of business concerning the community, should turn a similar amount of attention to public matters to place them on a level with the Sinhalese *in this respect*, and both races combined, with a good infusion of Burghers and Europeans, would make as active and intelligent a community as could almost be desired. It is not argued that there would at once be the smoothness of procedure and facility of working which marks institutions of ancient growth and long continued practice; it would be a pity if there were. Better that there should be mistakes and something of awkwardness at starting, with the chance of further attaining unto perfection, than that success in such matters, which has been gained at great cost by others, should be too easily acquired. If the object were too easily obtained, it would not be rightly valued.

Spite of the instances before their eyes in the present able Ceylonese members of the local legislature, Europeans in Ceylon often find it difficult to imagine that dark-skinned gentlemen, habited somewhat differently from themselves, should possess statesmanlike ability, or be able by power of speech to take a good grasp of a subject, and reason logically upon it. As though facility of utterance and a logical mind were matters of dress! It doth not appear in *Hansard*, nor hath it ever been recorded in contemporary history, that the county members of the House of Commons, who second the reply to the Queen's speech, are more eloquent than other members of Parliament, although they rise to address the speaker in all the bravery of a Deputy-Lieutenant's uniform, gorgeous and unique as that was before an order of court changed the tapering swallow-tails into the more decorous lappets of a surtout coat! Strong sticklers for the rights and privileges granted to them, Ceylonese legislators would in

all probability become; the pages of the *Ceylon Hansard*, for the past two years give ample evidence of this. Sturdy patriotism and not subservient time-serving would, it may safely be predicted, be the prevailing characteristic of the Ceylon House of Representatives.

The material interests of the island, alike of European and Ceylonese, demand that legislative power to a greater extent than is now possessed, and a machinery which will work more smoothly and rapidly than the present, should be provided. Proof of this is seen in the backward state of many of the provinces, exclusively Ceylonese, and one of the most important parts of the island, the Jaffna peninsula in the north, being so completely shut out from the capital and the most progressive parts of the island as to seem almost a foreign land. It is a Tamil who suggests in the newspapers the placing of a mail cart on a road just completed, which would bring Jaffna within twenty-four hours' journey of Colombo, and it is a European Government which peremptorily refuses to do this. The consequence of Jaffna being thus shut off from the rest of the island is, that a great part of her active people, the keenest in the community, go across the "silver streak," and the Madras Presidency has the benefit of their talents. To the European a reform is most urgently required. A remarkable illustration is afforded in the feeble and dilatory manner with which the home Colonial authorities have dealt with the subject of railway extension, while "some one should be hanged" for the criminal waste of time in regard to water works for Colombo. It is impossible to fairly rule Ceylon from Downing-street, six thousand miles distant, and it is little short of a crime to attempt it. Materially this is true. Socially and politically it is equally patent. After nearly eighty years' occupation of the island only a miserably small sum is expended for educational purposes, and the system of education is not an iota ahead of what was taught in English grammar and day schools in the early part of the century. This would not have been the case had the inhabitants been given more power in council: proof that this is no mere assertion made at random may be found in one fact. As soon as the *gansabhawa* ordinance gave the people control over education, they established schools with great rapidity for girls as well as for boys; made attendance compulsory on pain of fine, with the further punishment that if the parent continued contumacious he should be deprived of his vote for the village council, and declared ineligible to sit as an assessor in the tribunal to try breaches of communal law. On-lookers, struck by the advanced position Ceylon has attained, compared, say with one of the Indian Presidencies, think there is great cause for gratulation. But when all the circumstances

are taken into consideration, the feeling should be one of shame that so little has been done. Twelve years under a Representative Government, might be trusted to do as much as a generation of the present system has accomplished. It may be not inappropriate here to sketch the kind of assembly for which the colony is now ripe, placing as a porch to the edifice to be described, an abstract of the population of the various divisions of the land. In the distribution of seats, numbers have been kept in view to some extent, though the proportion of existing schools has been considered.

POPULATION OF CEYLON.

<i>Western Province.</i>				
Colombo District	...	...	...	578,721
Sabaragamua District	...	...	...	92,277
Kegalla District	...	...	...	105,287
				<hr/> 776,285
<i>Central Province.</i>				
Kandy District	...	...	...	258,432
Matale District	...	...	...	71,721
Nuwara Eliya District	...	...	...	36,184
Badulla District	...	...	...	129,000
				<hr/> 495,340
<i>Southern Province.</i>				
Galle District	...	...	...	195,416
Matara District	...	...	...	143,379
Hambantota District	...	...	...	60,960
				<hr/> 399,755
<i>Northern Province.</i>				
Jaffna District	...	...	...	216,185
Manaar District	...	...	...	25,645
Mullaitivu District	...	...	...	10,058
				<hr/> 281,788
<i>North-Western Province.</i>				
Kurunegala District	...	...	...	207,885
Puttalam District	...	...	...	61,199
				<hr/> 269,084
<i>Eastern Province.</i>				
Batticaloa District	...	...	...	93,220
Trincomalee District	...	...	...	20,070
				<hr/> 113,290
<i>North-Central Province.</i>				
Nuwera Kalawiya District	...	...	...	58,972
Tamankaduwa	...	...	...	4,768
Demala Pattuwa	...	...	...	6,980
				<hr/> 70,720

PROPOSED HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

- 13 Officials, Heads of Departments, *viz.*, the Major-General, the Colonial Secretary, Queen's Advocate, Auditor-General, Treasurer, Government Agents—Western, Central, Southern, Northern, Eastern, North-Western, and North-Central Provinces; Surveyor-General and Collector of Customs.
 - 1 European, elected by Chamber of Commerce (Colombo and Galle).
 - 5 Colombo,—(elected by people) representing European, Burgher, Tamil, Sinhalese, Moor and Malay Communities,
 - 1 Kandy (race indifferent).
 - 1 Galle ditto.
 - 1 Jaffna ditto.
 - 1 Dimbula, Dikoya and Maskeliya (coffee districts).
 - 1 Uva ditto.
 - 1 Districts north of Kandy, including Kadugannawa and Kurunegala on the west.
 - 1 Districts east of Kandy, including Hantane, Nilambe, Pussellawa, Ramboda, &c.
- Western Province.*
- 3 Colombo District.
 - 1 Subaragamuwa District.
 - 1 Kegalla ditto.
- Central Province.*
- 1 Kandy District.
 - 1 Matale ditto.
 - 1 Nuwera Eliya and Badulla.
- Southern Province.*
- 1 Galle District.
 - 1 Matara ditto.
- Northern Province.*
- 1 Jaffna District, including Manaar.
 - 1 Mullaitivu ditto.
- North-Western Province.*
- 1 Kurunegalla District.
- Eastern Province.*
- 1 Batticaloa and Trincomalee.
- North-Central Province.*
- 1 Anaradhapura District.
-
- 41 in all, including Speaker, to be nominated from amongst the members.

The qualification for the franchise might be,—in Municipalities the contribution to municipal taxes; in coffee districts, the managing or assisting in the management of a coffee estate, such manager or assistant to be over twenty-one years of age; while in out-lying districts, possession of property of a certain value, or payment of rates levied by local improvement boards, or having a vote for village councils, should constitute qualifications for a vote for the Legislature. A clause in the Charter granting some such scheme as has been shadowed forth, might permit the House year by year to add to the voting power of a district by permitting newly-constituted Gansabhawa voters to be added to the register. The union between town and village life and national affairs, could not fail to be in the best degree stimulating and healthily beneficial to the people.—A veto upon legislation might be placed in the hands of the Governor; who, in his turn, would be responsible to the Home authorities, to whom he would send full minutes of proceedings. The present Executive Council, consisting of four chief officials, should be enlarged, having as many elected members as officials: these members should hold office for three years only, and, if Europeans, should have been in the island at least three years. The Governor should not have a seat in the assembly,* but a Speaker should be selected. Salaries should be given to the unofficial members of the Executive, who should hold portfolios of agriculture, and similar matters. Elections might be triennial, and the sense of responsibility could then be brought prominently before the people, who also could not fail to benefit by the frequent communications which would take place between members and their constituents. The representative of “gay wisdom” in the House of Commons, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, addressing his constituents recently, reminded them, that when members of the Lower House were dismissed from Westminster, the Queen sent them “to their duties in the country.” He confessed he was puzzled to know what these duties were: in his own case, for instance, as a county magistrate, the principal duty seemed to be to license one

* It is lowering to the dignity of the Queen's Representative to take part in the often rough give-and-take style of oratory of such institutions. Mixing in petty matters the vice-regal office is not raised in esteem. Governors are but men, and they naturally take much interest in public measures. Amongst the traditions of the present House is one which tells of a Governor highly offended at persistent opposition to a Government bill, deliberately turning

his chair round and sitting with his back to an Hon. member during the whole time he was speaking. Further, the President became very wroth, broke the rules of the House in regard to the bill, and was only restored to his wonted composure by asking the Senior Member to temporarily occupy the chair, whilst he went to one of the open windows and watched some military athletic sports being carried out on a maidan near!

set of people to make others drunk. The phrase quoted might be a reality in Ceylon, if only members of the right stamp were elected, and this would certainly be the case if the reform were initiated *con amore*. A member's duty, so far as the purely Ceylonese constituencies were concerned, would be only half-filled by the three or four months' legislation in the year. Properly carried out a member would only do his duty when he made frequent visits to the people he represented, and thereby bring them into contact with the civilization and progress of the age, in the active life of which, he would show they were taking a part. Given arrangements of the nature indicated, and there would be provided, what is now greatly needed, *viz.*, scope for the ambition of able men among the Ceylonese who, if they find their lawful aspirations checked, may thwart rather than aid in the solution of social and political problems which England in the East has to meet. At present the way for advancement is not made plain in the manner indicated.

The cry is often uttered that, in matters of legislation, India wants rest. Perhaps so; rest at least from ill-considered, injudicious interference with the people, but it is on the face of the remark monstrous to insinuate that English rule has been so beneficent from Cashmere to Comorin that her rulers may henceforth "rest from their labours" for their "works will follow them." Nothing is farther from the truth in India, and nothing is less in accordance with fact in Ceylon. The last-named land has mineral resources to develop, but they are few: its wealth consists of its broad acres, and apart from the uppermost slopes of the highest hills there is, perhaps, not more than a hundred thousand acres which could not be made annually to yield produce. There are tracts of cultivable lands, supplied with tanks repaired and fit for use, or needing only very slight additions to make available for storage of water, waiting to be colonised: this will never be done under the present system of rule. Under a popular Government what is desiderated might be accomplished; it is as certain as anything actually unattained can be that it would be done. This is the only way in which rich results would be seen to follow from a more generous and enlightened policy of rule. With things remaining as they are, while there is some cause for congratulation at what has been done, there is more occasion for regret and shame that so much lies unattempted.

III.

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION.

The whole case, from a material point of view, for the establishment of wider and more popular institutions, may be shown in a

double row of figures. The present council was established in 1834: if suitable for the state of things existing then, it is unsuitable now. Every single item in the "Statistical Review of the Progress of Ceylon," appended to the Blue Book shows this, as will appear from comparing the following returns:—

Population.*	Military.	Births.	Marriages.	Deaths.	Schools.	Scholars.	Revenue.	Expenditure	Shipping.	Imports.	Exports.
1834. 1,167,700	6,227	21,930	7,527	17,486	1,105	13,891	£ 377,952	£ 334,835	Tons, 153,510	£ 372,726	£ 145,934
1875 2,459,542	1,716	67,285	13,837	53,363	1,570	73,020	1,354,123	1,220,180	2,216,403	5,361,240	5,375,410

This marvellous development, as great for an Asiatic colony as the rise of Chicago or Melbourne in American or Anglo-Saxon communities, demands better treatment than it at present receives from the Colonial Office. Nothing more nor less than the measure of freedom which fathers give their sons when the latter are too old to be kept at home. Not that Ceylon, as a consequence of greater freedom, is likely to desire to break away altogether from England: the rather would the bonds which connect her with the British dominions be riveted. The diverse races in the island, instead of seeking to have dominance one over the other, are being drawn together to think and act as the people: the distinctive race-names are giving place to the comprehensive and descriptive appellation of Ceylonese. It is not possible to conceive of a time when British agricultural interest in Ceylon should cease. It is too profitable to be given up by those engaged in it, as is sometimes urged would be the case, were justice done to the people in the manner indicated in this paper. An English governor will, necessarily, rule whilst connection with Great Britain is kept up. Compensation may be found probably in Ceylonese attaining high honours in the Imperial Parliament, or being even sent to rule distant provinces of the federated constitution of the future. Experience proves that it is not wise to make local magnates supreme local rulers.

To sum up, the contentions of this paper may be formulated in the following propositions, which, it is hoped, have to some extent, been proved, and which show the desirability for those who have the power to grant reform, not to be slack in well-doing, but by justice and generous dealing stave off agitation and bring affairs as they are in concert with institutions which have yet to be created. It is maintained—

* Estimated.

208 *Eurasians as Leaven in India and Ceylon.*

(a) That the interests of the island suffer grievously from the necessity for referring everything to Downing-street for decision ;

(b) That full justice is not done to the island, because those most acquainted with its wants are denied a share in its government ;

(c) That, with almost unexampled opportunities, all progress save that which is material has been comparatively slow and intermittent: much has been done, vastly much more might have been accomplished ;

(d) That the people of the land have displayed an astonishing fitness for self-government, and that, therefore, the duty of the English rulers is to recognise the manhood it has developed, and give fair play to the qualities it has been the means of bringing forth ;

(e) That the experiment of ruling the East through the people of Eastern lands will, of necessity, have to be made ; and that a better theatre than Ceylon for the inception of the new rule, cannot be conceived, the action of the people themselves having already taken the proposal out of the region of experiment ; and

(f) Opportunity calls for action.

WM. DIGBY.

POETRY:—THE ROYAL ASCETIC AND THE HIND.
FROM THE VISHNU PURANA. B. II. C. XIII.

MAITREYA.

Of old thou gav'st a promise to relate
The deeds of Bharat, that great hermit-king :
Beloved Master, now the occasion suits,
And I am all attention.

PARASARA.

Brahman, hear.

With a mind fixed intently on his gods
Long reigned in Saligram of ancient fame,
The mighty monarch of the wide, wide world,
Chief of the virtuous, never in his life
Harmed he, or strove to harm, his fellow-man,
Or any creature sentient. But he left
His kingdom in the forest-shades, to dwell,
And changed his sceptre for a hermit's staff,
And with ascetic rites, privations rude,
And constant prayers, endeavoured to attain
Perfect dominion on his soul. At morn,
Fuel, and flowers, and fruit, and holy grass,
He gathered for oblations ; and he passed
In stern devotions all his other hours ;
Of the world heedless, and its myriad cares,
And heedless too of wealth, and love, and fame.

Once on a time, while living thus, he went
To bathe where through the wood the river flows :
And his ablutions done, he sat him down
Upon the shelving bank to muse and pray.
Thither impelled by thirst a graceful hind,
Big with its young, came fearlessly to drink.
Sudden, while yet she drank, the lion's roar,
Feared by all creatures, like a thunder-clap
Burst in that solitude from a thicket, nigh.
Startled, the hind leapt up, and from her womb
Her offspring tumbled in the rushing stream.
Whelmed by the hissing waves and carried far
By the strong current swollen by recent rain,
The tiny thing still struggled for its life,
While its poor mother, in her fright and pain,
Fell down upon the bank and breathed her last.

Uprose the hermit-monarch at the sight
 Full of keen anguish; with his pilgrim staff
 He drew the new-born creature from the wave;
 'Twas panting fast, but life was in it still.
 Now, as he saw its luckless mother dead,
 He would not leave it in the woods alone,
 But with the tenderest pity brought it home.
 There, in his leafy hut, he gave it food,
 And gallily nourished it with patient care,
 Until it grew in stature and in strength,
 And to the forest skirts could venture forth
 In search of sustenance. At early morn
 Abenceforth it used to leave the hermitage
 And with the shades of evening come again,
 And in the little courtyard of the hut
 Lie down in peace, 'unless the tigers fierce,
 Prowling about, compelled it to return
 Earlier at noon. But whether near or far,
 Wandering abroad, or resting in its home,
 The monarch-hermit's heart was with it still,
 Bound by affection's ties; nor could he think
 Of anything besides this little hind,
 His nursling. Though a kingdom he had left,
 And children, and a host of loving friends,
 Almost without a tear, the fount of love
 Sprang out anew within his blighted heart.
 To greet this dumb, weak, helpless foster-child.
 And so, whene'er it lingered in the wilds,
 Or at the 'customed hour could not return,
 His thoughts went with it; "And alas!" he cried,
 "Who knows, perhaps some lion, or some wolf,
 Or ravenous tiger with relentless jaws
 Already hath devoured it,—timid thing!
 Lo, how the earth is dinted with its hoofs,
 And variegated. Surely for my joy
 It was created. When will it come back,
 And rub its budding antlers on my arms
 In token of its love and deep delight
 To see my face? The shaven stalks of grass,
 Kusha and kasha, by its new teeth clipped,
 Remind me of it, as they stand in lines
 Like pious boys who chant the Samga Veds
 Shorn by their vows of all their wealth of hair."
 Thus passed the monarch-hermit's time; in joy,
 With smiles upon his lips, whenever near

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His little favourite ; in bitter grief
And fear, and trouble, when it wandered far.
And he who had abandoned ease and wealth,
And friends, and dearest ties, and kingly power,
Found his devotions broken by the love
He had bestowed upon a little hind
Thrown in his way by chance. Years glided on.
And Death, who spareth none, approached at last
The hermit-king to summon him away ;
The hind was at his side with tearful eyes
Watching his last sad moments, like a child
Beside a father. He too, watched and watched
His favorite through a blinding film of tears,
And could not think of the Beyond at hand,
So keen he felt the parting, such deep grief
O'rwelmed him for the creature he had reared.
To it devoted was his last, last thought,
Reckless of present and of future both !

Thus far the pious chronicle, writ of old
By Brahman sage ; but we, who happier, live
Under the holiest dispensation, know
That God is Love, and not to be adored
By a devotion born of stoic pride,
Or with ascetic rites, or penance hard,
But with a love, in character, akin
To His unselfish all-including love.
And therefore little can we sympathise
With what the Brahman sage would fain imply
As the concluding moral of his tale,
That for the hermit-king it was a sin
To love his nursling. What ! A sin to love !
A sin to pity ! Rather should we deem
Whatever Brahmans wise, or monks may hold,
That he had sinned in *casting off* all love
By his retirement to the forest-shades ;
For that was to abandon duties high,
And, like a recreant soldier, leave the post
Where God had placed him as a sentinel.

This little hind brought strangely on his path,
This love engendered in his withered heart,
This hindrance to his rituals,—might these not
Have been ordained to teach him ? Call him back
To ways marked out for him by Love divine ?
And with a mind less self-willed to adore ?

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Not in seclusion, not apart from all,
Not in a place elected for its peace,
But in the heat and bustle of the world,
'Mid sorrow, sickness, suffering and sin,
Must he still labour with a loving soul
Who strives to enter through the narrow gate.

TORU DUTT.

26th July, 1876.

SINGATEGONE.

Here where the pies are peaceful,
Here where all clamours cease
And life is cool and easeful
Of half its miseries,
I turn from codes and cases
To dream of distant places
And pleasant plans and places
Across the sultry seas.

I'm sick of act and section,
And never ending quest
Among the crude collection
Of methods to molest :
Each hour and minute galls me,
Each petty plaint appals me
But one desire enthrals me—
Desire for utter rest.

Here where the weak winds wander
I lie in blank repose,
Nor care if leagues down yonder
The town has fire and foes ;
Dacoits may prowl and pillage,
A stream may swamp the tillage
Or flames consume a village ;
To-day I dream and doze.

Though one were strong and able
He could not long abide
The pitiless, unstable .
Harsh fate which bids him hide
The fever and the fetters,
The friends and the forgetters, .
The lean unlovely letters
Which chafe and change and chide.

Could death itself be duller
Then thus decay among
An alien clime and colour
An alien time and tongue,
To pine with drear persistence
For aught to break the distance,
This hybrid half-existence
Unsing and unsung ?

Ah youthful friends and fancies
Who loved to fable here
A realm of old romances
With fame and fortune near,
One waft of English weather
One scent of Scottish heather
Is'worth the titled tether
Which binds to Belvedere !

The sun's gold disk is drooping
Through a shower of golden rain,
The purple trees are trooping
Into darkness down the plain ;
The last faint shafts are streaming
The last faint tints are gleaming,
To-day is done with dreaming,
To-morrow loil again.

H. L. St. B.

May. 1876. ,

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Bhubanmohini Pratibhá. Edited and published by Novin Chandra Mukhopadháya. First part. Gupta Press. Sakavda, 1797.

WE have heard that this book has been written by a Bengali lady. It consists of 20 poetical pieces. The poetry is impassioned, and in some cases very graceful and delicate. It is generally weird and melancholy in its tone, and is sometimes very wild and vague. In many places it evinces want of taste and morbid fancy. There is considerable variety of metre combined with great power of expression. Most of the pieces should have been shorter than they are.

Mensuration for Beginners, with numerous Examples. By F. Todhunter, M. A., F. R. S. Translated into Bengali by Raj Krishna Mookerjee, M.A. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., Publishers to the Calcutta University: 1876.

BABU RAJ KRISHNA MOOKERJEE is well known in native literary circles. He is a man of various talents. An accomplished English and Bengali scholar, he has written some good original poems, an historical novel, an admirable history of Bengal, and several school-books. He was a very valuable contributor to the *Vanga Darsana* when that excellent periodical was in existence, and some of his English essays afford ample proof of his extensive acquirements in that language. We value his scholarship, but we value still more his labors in the cause of the education of his own countrymen. His works on algebra, grammar, and the history of Bengal, are excellent as school-books, and the book under notice, though only a translation, speaks well for himself, and will be of immense use to Bengali boys receiving instruction in our schools. A knowledge of the principles of mensuration is indispensable in a country where the land forms the chief source of the wealth of its inhabitants; and the present work will be of incalculable benefit to the country, especially when the *gurumahashaya* has in many places ceased to teach the old rules of land-measurement in the old way. Babu Raj Krishna's labors in the cause of his country's education deserve a grateful recognition, and ought to satisfy everybody that the educated Hindu is not wanting

in sympathy with the great mass of people who claim his own nationality.

The Vyavasayi; or A Journal of Agriculture, Commerce and Manufacture. Edited by Srinath Datta, Under-Graduate, London: Under the patronage of the Government of Bengal. Vol. I. Nos. 1 and 2, Bhadra and Aswin, 1283 B. S. Bhowanipore. Printed at the Somprakas Press by K. N. Chakravarti.

WE hail the appearance of this periodical with immense pleasure. It is the first Bengali periodical of its kind in this country: Its main object seems to be to discuss agricultural topics; to compare the agricultural systems of England and India, and to point out how Indian agriculture could be improved and rendered more profitable than it is at present. The object is extremely good, and Babu Srinath Datta seems to be the man among the natives of India who is best fitted to accomplish it. For he has lately returned from England after making a practical study of the agricultural system of that country. The first two numbers of his journal are supremely interesting, and are characterised throughout by sound common sense and a thorough appreciation of the peculiar nature of Indian agriculture. He does not think that the English system of agriculture can be transferred bodily into India. He is of opinion that that system, if adopted in this country, ought to be largely modified. And this is just what any sensible man would say who takes note of the striking difference in the physical and climatic conditions of England and India. Considered in this light Babu Srinath Datta's journal is eminently practical.

That Indian agriculture is not in a satisfactory condition is proved by the fact that, whereas a biga of land produces about 8 to 10 maunds of wheat in England, in India it produces no more than 3 maunds of that valuable article of food. That this agriculture is susceptible of very great improvement is proved by the fact that a European gentleman, who cultivated wheat on a small scale in or near Cawnpore, was able to raise $6\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of wheat—more than half the English quantity—on each biga, and to clear on the whole a profit of 50 per cent. upon his total outlay. But the important question now arises, who is to improve Indian agriculture? Babu Srinath Datta does not formally discuss this question, and the little that he does say about it seems to us to show an inadequate appreciation of its difficulty and importance. He thinks that the law relating to enhancement of rent prevents the Indian rāyat from increasing the productive power of his land. This is, we think, an error. For the Indian rent-law specially precludes enhancement of rent when any improvement has taken place through the agent of the rāyat himself. The true cause of agricultural neglect, so

as the rāyat is concerned, lies far deeper than is usually imagined. The Indian rāyat—a creature of superstition and a slave of custom—dislikes change. The Indian rāyat, oppressed too long and too cruelly, is a demoralised thing—timid, lifeless, apathetic—that shrinks from enterprise. The Indian rāyat is poorer than the poor—he is eternally indebted to the Zamindār or the mahajun. He is not the man to improve the country's agriculture—at least to take any important *initiative*. There is, however, a large class of people in this country who occupy a status in society far higher than that of the rāyat, who do not live exactly from hand to mouth, and who, as lākherajdars, maurusidars and mocruridars, possess a very substantial interest in the soil. This is the class from which village schools in this country are chiefly recruited, and we think that, if hope lies anywhere, it lies *here*. At present the children of this class receive an essentially literary education, which creates a distaste for agricultural pursuits and gives a rude shock to agricultural instincts and traditions. We think that, if the system of education in the village schools were so framed as not to destroy but to foster and strengthen the agricultural traditions of the class which is chiefly represented on their rolls, the right frame of mind could be obtained and the most essential condition secured for effecting a wholesome change in the economic aspect of the country. The alteration proposed might be effected without imparting a technical character to our village schools. A book or two, describing the uses and profitableness of agriculture in easy and popular language, might serve the purpose. And such a book, written by Babu Srinath Datta, would be eminently successful in imparting a healthy tone to the Bengali mind at a time when it receives the training which is chiefly answerable for the fortunes of an entire life.

What we have said does not exhaust the question. But our pace is limited.

Dipa-Nirwan. Calcutta. Printed by Kali Kinkara Chakravarti, at the Vālmiki Press. 1283 B. S.

WE have read this book with profound interest, for it has been written by a young Bengali lady. Our information regarding the authorship is of the most reliable character, and we can honestly impart it to our readers as one which is unimpeachably correct. Well, this book by a Bengali girl is an extremely creditable performance. Let us see what it is. It is a novel describing the story of the extinction of India's liberty in consequence of the defeat of *Prithwi-Raj* in the battle of Thaneshwara. We shall briefly tell the story. *Prithwi-Raj*, King of Ajmir, is sitting upon the throne of Delhi in accordance with a bequest

made by his grandfather who preferred him to his elder cousin *Jaichandra*, King of Kanauj. He has an only daughter *Usávatí*—beautiful both in mind and body—who loves *Kalyan Sing* the eldest son of *Samara Sing*, King of Chitore. But the hand of *Usávatí* is also coveted by an ambitious and designing young man named *Vijaya*, the only son of *Prithwi-Raj's* able and devoted minister. *Vijaya* wants *Usávatí*, because *Usávatí*, as *Prithwi-Raj's* only child, can give him the throne of Delhi. But *Usávatí* does not want *Vijaya*. In an interview which takes place between the high-souled princess and the crafty youth, and which has been described by the fair authoress of *Dípa-nirwan* with great tact and ability, the former communicates her resolution to the latter in a manner which looks like a mild but decisive clench. The disappointed youth conceives from this moment an implacable hatred for *Usávatí*, and her lover *Kalyan Sing*, and vows eternal vengeance against both. To poison the deep and sacred love which has sprung up between the princess and the prince, *Vijaya* has recourse to some very wicked machinations in which with inconceivable hypocrisy and unfathomable villany he employs as his tool a simple, artless and love-inflamed girl named *Goláp*, the beloved companion of *Usávatí* and sister of *Chánd Kavi* the renowned soldier, poet and patriot. And to obtain the throne of Delhi he becomes a traitor to his country, his father and his king, and secretly pledges his service to Muhammad Ghorí, who has now invaded India for the second time. The two plots succeed remarkably; the first in virtue of *Vijaya's* masterly villany, the second in virtue of that villany coupled with Fate, which, however, proves in the end as much hostile to *Vijaya* as it is to India all through the progress of the momentous events which finally culminate in the terrible catastrophe of *Thánéswara*. *Goláp*—simple and artless but furiously enamoured of *Vijaya*—believes *Vijaya's* professions of love, and agrees to act as she is bid. Guided by *Vijaya*, she informs *Kalyan* that *Usávatí* loves her own lover; and though *Kalyan* is slow to believe this, he is soon made the witness of a spectacle which to one not behind the archfiend's screen is incontestable proof of falsehood, perfidy and poison. This ocular proof is furnished by *Goláp* at a meeting between *Kalyan* and *Usávatí*, which has been described with exquisite art. The result of this interview is an indignant and scornful repudiation of *Usávatí* by *Kalyan*. But the shock is too strong for the tender *Usávatí*—she faints, falls upon her marble floor, receives a severe wound in her head, gets fever accompanied with a coma from which there is no conscious awaking except for one brief interval, and which after subsisting for a long time quietly merges into eternal sleep.

just at the moment when the dagger of treachery is found piercing India's Liberty on the plain of Thánésvara. But *Goláp*, simple and love-inflamed though she be, has after all a good soul. She repents as soon as she finds that things have taken a serious turn with her favorite *Usáratí*. She hastens to *Kalyan* with all the letters which *Vijaya* has written to her. The villany is proved. But alas! it has already done its fatal work. Between the infliction of the blow and the discovery of the plot there has not been a moment of time for explanation and apology. *Kalyan* can only grieve and curse himself and die in battle for a speedy union in Heaven with the spirit of her who has perished for him on earth, resigned and uncomplaining and with a universe of faith in his love. *Goláp* is a miserable maniac all the rest of her life.

The political plot runs thus. *Vijaya* is entrusted by his father with the duty of going round to all the princes and chiefs of Hindustan as an envoy from *Prithwi-Raj* inviting co-operation and support in the impending struggle with the Muhammadans. *Vijaya* represents the situation of his sovereign in terms which excite little enthusiasm and produce much delay and irregularity in the sending of, auxiliaries to Delhi. He next enters the Moslem Camp and strikes up an infamous bargain with Muhammad Ghori for the throne of Delhi as the price of his treachery. Fate continues to favour his plans from this moment. For *Chánd Kavi*, who now comes to the Moslem Camp as a spy and sees and hears all that passes between *Vijaya* and *Muhammad Ghori*, is himself detected and imprisoned. And, again, when a Hindu and a Muhammadan are overheard some time later on the top of a hill during a conversation implying treachery on the part of the former, and *Prabhávatí* the wife of *Chánd Kavi* and her companion *Sailaváldá*, who have heard this conversation whilst on their way to Delhi to concert measures for *Chánd Kavi's* rescue, communicate this information to *Kirun Sing*, *Samara Sing's* youngest son, who is also travelling from Delhi towards the Moslem Camp for *Chánd Kavi's* sake, it so happens that *Kirun* meets *Vijaya*, the very Hindu who has talked treachery without being recognised. And this circumstance diverts *Kirun* from his intention of going personally to Delhi to inform *Prithwi-Raj* of what he has heard and leads to his entrusting the traitor himself with that important business! Certainly it looks something like a defect in the story that *Kirun Sing*, who learns that a Hindu has held treacherous consultation with a Mussulman, who encounters that Mussulman, and who meets a Hindu almost the very next moment at no great distance from the place of that encounter and that consultation, does not even suspect that that very Hindu might be the person whose conversation has been overheard. But what seems a defect is indeed the beauty of the story. For it is a well-known though somewhat

mysterious fact that strange stupidity sometimes seizes the minds of men who are placed within the sombre shadow of a great adverse destiny. And this destiny leads to further mishaps in the present instance. For when *Kavi Chandra* is rescued by *Kirun* and informed of the adventure on the hill, he hastens towards Delhi to acquaint *Prithwi-Raj* with the circumstances of *Vijaya's* treachery, but is prevented by the circuitous nature of his journey from reaching his destination in time. Thus the traitor's plot succeeds. The Hindus and Mussulmans meet on the plain of Thaneshwara. After a victorious struggle, the Hindus sink under treachery. They lose their greatest soldiers—*Samara Sing* and *Kalyan Sing*, worthy representatives of the royal house of Chitore. *Prithwi-Raj*, captured in war, dies a death full of glory to himself and his race, full of shame and infamy to the barbarous Moslem. A slave-king sits on the throne of *Yudhisthir* and *Yaumajaya*.

A prison is the reward of the traitor *Vijaya*.

Such, in short, is the story of *Dipa-Nirvan*; and this story, we are glad to say, has been admirably told by the fair authoress. It is not indeed free from defects and hitches. We think that the long story of *Kirun Sing* and *Sailaválá*, with all the charm and grace and poetry which belong to it, is an artistic blunder. It raises expectations which are not fulfilled. Characters whose prominence is surmised at the outset, for whom the whole book seems to be intended, and with and around whom all events and personages are expected to be connected and grouped—these characters, we say, dwindle into insignificant proportions, are nearly lost in the shadow of new characters, become shorn of all their interest and importance, and are driven into distant outskirts where men and events influence them not and are little influenced by them. *Kirun Sing* and *Sailaválá* disappoint us, because they do not turn out to be the hero and the heroine which their long early history promises to make of them. And this disappointment in the reader's mind indicates defect of art in the author. Then, again, we cannot understand how *Vijaya* heard of *Kalyan Sing's* intention to see *Usávatí* on the day which proved so fatal to the two lovers. The intention was the result of a sudden impulse and the only person to whom it could have been communicated is *Kirun Sing*. But supposing this to have been done, communication to a third person was impossible; because *Kirun Sing* did not leave his house and was not visited by any one else, at least for such time as must have sufficed for *Kalyan's* short and hasty walk to the palace. At any rate, so short a time was not sufficient for the making of an inquiry and the writing of a letter of instructions to *Golap*. There are some more defects. But in spite of all its defects, *Dipa-*

Nirwan is a story admirably told. The intrigues of *Vijaya* have been unfolded with great skill and ability. The story of the war has been related with true epic fire—with great boldness of thought and great warmth of feeling. *Prithvi-Raj's* address to his soldiers is a masterpiece. And the imagery in which Thaneswara is represented as a *Smashan* (burning ground), which gradually increases in size till it embraces all India from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, is truly weird and profound. With perfect propriety the story of the war on the side of the Hindus has been invested with a devotional character, of which *Samara Sing*, the hermit-king, seems to be a colossal impersonation on the plain of Thaneswara, and which has greatly heightened the sublimity of the last Aryan struggle for the sovereignty of India. The love story has been concluded with immense enthusiasm and and imaginative power.

We must say a few words regarding the female characters in the story. *Usávatí* is all spirit and no matter. And that spirit is only another name for purity, gentleness, veneration and love. She is also strong, though that strength is all of the mind. She feels deeply; she wills strongly; but she cannot act. For she is all mind and no body. If she had possessed a body she should have remembered the wound in her head, for she does not forget everything during her last illness. Perhaps that illness is only a paroxysm of love which scorns the miserable knots and fetters of muscle and bone and prefers to dwell only in the loving souls of sympathetic men and sympathetic women.

Sailaválá is a very interesting character. Young, lovely and beautiful, she is also gay, sprightly and humorous. She is like the poet's sky-lark which pours forth rapturous melody whilst flitting about like the tiniest thing in creation. In her childlike simplicity and sprightliness she looks very small and frivolous. But she has a heart which is as large as it is deep. Whilst she is jesting there is no knowing whether her heart is not burning with grief or melting with kindness and pity. She talks the language of a child to express the sentiments of a woman. She is also capable of action. She has a courageous heart and an active spirit which in suitable circumstances might achieve great practical results. In consequence of the defect in the story of *Dipa-nirwan*, noticed above, *Sailaválá* never appears before us in that perfect form which she is capable of assuming. But if full scope for development were given to her she should combine in her own person the three admirable characters of Bankim Chandra—*Mrinalini*, *Vimalá* and *Girijáyá*.

Prabhávatí is not a very marked character. *Goláp* has been already explained.

One of the most charming features of *Dipa-nirwan* is the

chaste poetry which pervades it. Our fair authoress has a fine eye for all that is good and beautiful and sublime around us, and her manner of telling is accordingly poetical from beginning to end. And the excellence and perfection of her taste is amply attested by the exquisite grace, elegance, simplicity, music, and eloquence of her style. She speaks of great and sublime things in the simplest of words and in so far resembles her own *Sailavdlá*. Perhaps this is the reason why without much necessity she has introduced *Sailavdlá* into her story. It was her kind wish that her readers should know something about herself.

The introduction proves the authoress to be a very learned student of Indian history and antiquities. Perhaps the excellence of her work is in a great measure due to her extensive knowledge of her country's history.

We have no hesitation in pronouncing this book to be by far the best that has yet been written by a Bengali lady, and we should no more hesitate to call it one of the ablest in the whole literature of Bengal.

One word parenthetically. It is usually thought by foreigners that the relation between the sexes in this country is not what it should be. The divine honors paid by the Hindu woman to her husband are believed to imply servitude. It is interesting to know the sentiments of an educated Hindu lady like the authoress of *Dípa-nírvān* in this important matter. Well, there are some words in the book before us which enable us to ascertain this. *Chánd Kavi* joins his wife *Prabhávatí* as soon as he is rescued, but is compelled to leave her almost immediately in order to carry the news of *Vijaya's* treachery to Delhi. Whereupon the fair authoress says:—

“প্রভাবতী তাঁহার মস্তকের মণি পাইয়াই আবার হারাইলেন”
“*Prabhávatí* loses the jewel of her head almost as soon as she recovers it.”

“মস্তকের মণি” (jewel of the head)—these are the identical words in which the uneducated and orthodox Hindu matron describes her lord.

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

Indian Mission Directory and Memorial Volume. By the Rev. B. H. Badley of the American Methodist Mission, [Lucknow, American Methodist Mission Press, 1876.]

FROM the motto prefixed to this little volume,—“Where is boasting then? It is excluded,”—one might suppose that missionaries were so given to boasting that the editor had to

exercise a very strict censorship in admitting their accounts of themselves, and that he had put this text as his apology on the title-page for excluding self-laudatory rhetoric, and compelling his unwilling brethren to make their autobiographies after the neat business-like style in which he has written his own. From the preface, however, we gather that though the editor found it necessary to exclude certain eulogistic notices, these were not autobiographical, but written by the friends of deceased missionaries. On the contrary, he says that he found missionaries to be mostly, as we should expect, very reticent in supplying information regarding their lives and labours.

The book bears the appearance of having been compiled in too great haste. A very superficial examination has discovered to us some inaccuracies; and the *Evangelical Review*, a much better judge than ourselves on this point, makes the same complaint. The accounts, too, of the different Societies are very unequal, some being well written, some excessively meagre. A really good sketch of each Missionary Society would alone have made the volume useful and interesting.

Criticism, however, is disarmed by the editor's acknowledgment of the deficiencies of the volume, and his explanation of the difficulties of compiling it and getting it through the press. We should be very wrong not to be grateful to any gentleman who takes the trouble to provide us with useful volumes of this sort; and the energy with which the American Methodists work their press is highly creditable to them, and particularly gratifying in a country where literary pursuits labour under special disabilities.

One thing which strikes us in looking through this directory is that it would give an inadequate idea of the relative efforts of the Church of England and of Dissenting bodies in the Mission field; on this account that, although there are various Dissenting ministers who are much more engaged in English than in native work, they are all put down as missionaries, while there are some chaplains who do a good deal of work among native Christians, and yet because they are chaplains, do not figure in this list. And so corresponding to this is the fact that, whilst the European Missionaries of the Church do not amount to one-third of the whole number at work in India, their converts are nearly half of the total of Protestant native Christians. When we mention that, notwithstanding this, only 31 out of 252 pages in the *Mission Directory* are allowed to the Missionary Societies of the Church, we think that it is evident that a superficial reader of this volume would form an inaccurate idea of what the Church is doing in the Mission field.

A Concise Dictionary of the Persian Language. By E. H. Palmer, M. A., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Lord Almoner's Reader and Professor of Arabic, and Fellow of St. John's College in the University of Cambridge. London: Trübner and Co., 1876.

THIS is a most handy little dictionary, well and clearly printed as are all the productions of the Cambridge University Press, and prepared (as far as we can judge) with the care and accuracy which we expect in Professor Palmer's works. It contains all the words to be found in the *Gulistān* and the other text-books for the Indian Civil Service Examinations, and will doubtless be largely used by Civil Service Candidates.

captain perceived his mistake. Still he made light of his enemy, and opening fire, in a very short space of time he inflicted severe damage on the hull, the rigging, and the masts of the *Freuchman*. Still Surcouf did not reply. It was his object to board, and he endeavoured to manœuvre in such a manner as to gain the port side of the *Kent*. When at length he had succeeded in this, he opened a tremendous broadside and musketry fire, then fastening the grappling-irons he attached himself closely to his enemy. Thenceforward, from her superior height out of the water, the fire of the *Kent* could only pass over the deck of *La Confiance*.

To climb on the enemy's deck followed by his crew, was a work of an instant. After a desperate conflict the English were driven below, their flag was hauled down, but still they did not surrender. The fight continued below in the batteries, nor was it until resistance had become useless that it ceased, and the *Kent* surrendered.

In this battle the French had sixteen men wounded, of whom three died of their wounds. The English lost seventy men killed and wounded.* Surcouf at once transported the greater part of his prisoners, amongst whom was the daughter of the Margrave of Anspach married to an English general, on board a three-masted coasting vessel which opportunely came near enough to be captured; then placing sixty of his men under an officer on board the *Kent*, he sailed in company with her to the islands. He arrived there in November. There, too, he received instructions to re-conduct the *Confiance* to France with a view to her receiving a more powerful armament. He sailed with this object on the 29th January 1801, and arrived at La Rochelle on the 13th April following, having captured a Portuguese vessel, the *Ebro*, carrying 18 twelve-pounders, on the way.

That same year the brief treaty of Amiens put a stop to hostilities. Surcouf then married. But the war being resumed in 1803, the First Consul offered him the commission of post captain (*Capitaine de vaisseau*) in the French Navy, with the command of two frigates in the Indian seas. In the interview which followed with the First Consul, Surcouf would only accord a provisional acceptance of the offer. "I am willing," he is reported to have said, "to undertake the duty, provided I am made independent of all superior command, whether of the admiral in the Indian seas, or of any senior officer I may encounter." The First Consul declined to grant him a power so excessive; but struck by his manner and perfectly cognisant of his reputation he asked his opinion as to the policy by which the French Navy could be placed on such a footing as to cause the greatest injury to the English

* James says about fifty-eight.

The reply of Surcouf was eminently characteristic of the man: "If I were in your place" he replied, "I would burn all my line of battle ships; I would never deliver battle to the English fleets and squadrons. But I would construct and send into every sea frigates and light ships in such extraordinary numbers that the commerce of the enemy must be speedily annihilated." Napoleon was then too much engaged with the project of the invasion of England, rendered abortive by the misconduct of Villeneuve, to depart so markedly from the established traditions of naval warfare; but he did not the less appreciate the intelligent ideas of the bold sailor. He conferred upon him the Cross of the Legion of Honour.

Until the year 1806 Surcouf remained in France, living on his savings, and sending out privateers commanded by his friends and relations. But in 1806 he became tired of inaction. He panted again for life on the Indian seas. He accordingly in that year had built under his own superintendence a vessel to carry eighteen guns and a crew of 192 men. In this ship, which he called the *Revenant*, he sailed from St. Malo for the Indian waters on the 2nd March 1807.

The islands were reached, without any adventure worthy of note, on the 10th June. * So great was the consternation in Calcutta on the news that this famous cruiser was on his way once again to the mouths of the Ganges, that the reward of a lakh of rupees was offered by the English Government for his capture. * But undeterred by this, Surcouf, on the 3rd September, sailed for his destination. On the 26th of the same month he arrived off Vizagapatam. The same day he captured the *Trafalgar*, a merchant ship laden with rice and carrying twelve guns, and the *Mangles* with a similar cargo and carrying fourteen guns. † In the next few days the *Admiral Applin*, the *Susanna*, the *Hunter*, the *Fortune* (previously captured from the French), and the *Success* struck their flags to him. Such was the terror he inspired that the Governor-General in Council placed on all the

* I have been unable to discover the actual order; but the Indian journals for 1807 and 1808 abound with complaints of the injuries caused by Surcouf to the British trade. The *Asiatic Annual Register* records in October 1807 that the losses in the value of captured ships in the preceding six weeks, amounted to thirty lakhs of rupees.

† The *Asiatic Annual Register* (1808) states that these vessels were insured for 1,50,000 rupees each; that Surcouf sent their crews on shore detaining only the captains, and

Mr. Nichol, who would appear to have been a person of some consideration. Subsequently Mr. Nichol managed to effect his escape in a manner, says the *Annual Register*, fair and honourable, yet such as was likely to cause great irritation to Surcouf. Yet the French captain would not allow his feelings to interfere with what he considered to be due to propriety. He took the first opportunity of forwarding to the British Government the whole of the personal property left by Mr. Nichol on board his ship.

vessels anchored in the Húghli an embargo to be binding as long as Surcouf might remain in the Bay of Bengal.

Hearing of this order Surcouf took an eastern course. On the 16th November he sighted three Indiamen conveying troops. These he avoided. But the next day he captured the *New Endeavour*, * laden with salt; and two days later the *Colonel Macauby*. † On the 12th December, returning from the Burmese waters, to which he had repaired without making a capture, he was chased, ineffectually, by a man-of-war and a corvette. Two days later he captured two brigs, ‡ from whose masters he learned that the embargo had been taken off the English vessels in the Húghli. On the 17th he captured the *Sir William Burroughs* of 700 tons, laden with teak, and bound from Rangoon to Calcutta. He sent her to the islands. Early on the morning of the third subsequent day he found himself within cannon-shot of an English man-of-war. The smallest indication of fear would have lost him. But Surcouf was quite equal to the occasion. He steadily pursued his course, unquestioned and unmolested, his true character unsuspected, and he soon sailed out of sight. A few days later he captured a Portuguese vessel, the *Oriente*, and a fine ship under Arab colours, but whose papers attested her to be English property. Both these vessels were likewise despatched to the islands. § His crew being reduced to 70 men, and he having received intelligence that a new English frigate had arrived with the express mission to capture him, Surcouf resolved to follow his prizes thither. Chased, though ineffectually, by an English man-of-war, he arrived at Port St. Louis on the 31st January 1808, and found that all his prizes had safely preceded him.

Surcouf shortly afterwards set out for France in a vessel called the *Charles* || with a cargo valued at five millions of francs. His vessel, the *Revenant*, ¶ after a short cruise under

* Surcouf ascertained that this vessel belonged to the captain who was navigating her, and that she was not insured. With a rare generosity he restored her to her owner unconditionally.

† From the *Colonel Macauby* Surcouf took 1,440 bottles of claret, some specie and some gunpowder. He then restored her to her owner for the same reason which had prompted his restoration of the *New Endeavour*.

‡ These brigs were restored to their owners.

§ Thither also had been despatched all the captures not specially referred

to in the text, except the *Admiral Aplin*, shipwrecked on the Coromandel coast, the *Hunter*, which he abandoned, and the *Success* which he burned.

|| The *Charles* was an old frigate called *La Semillante*, worn out in service, and sold for the purposes of commerce.

¶ The fate of the *Revenant* was curious. After a short cruise under the command of Potier, in which she captured a Portuguese frigate, the *Conceição de San Antonio*, pierced for 64, and carrying 54 guns, she was taken up by the Governor, added to the

her first lieutenant, Potier, had been taken up by the Governor, General Decaën, for the defence of the islands, and there appeared to be no chance of a further cruise in the Indian waters.* He reached St. Malo on the 5th February 1809. In a few days he went to Paris where he received a flattering reception from the Minister of Marine.

His active life on the sea was now terminated. The capture shortly afterwards by the British of the Isles of France and Bourbon tended very much to shut out the French cruisers from the Indian seas. Surcouf continued nevertheless during the war to arm and fit out privateers.† When peace came he devoted himself to maritime commerce, to agriculture, and to shooting.

Surcouf died in 1827. "France," writes M. Cunat, in his admirable biography, "lost in him a distinguished warrior; the naval service one of her bravest captains; and St. Malo, his native town, an illustrious offspring. Whilst the tears of the unfortunate proclaimed his charity, his fellow-citizens felt deeply the loss they had sustained. Their regrets were a last homage to the man whose enterprise, as a sailor, had astonished the world, and who, as a trader, had benefited all the industries of the country which he idolised."‡ It would be difficult to add a word to this eloquent eulogy. It may perhaps, however, be permitted to add that in him died the most formidable and most successful maritime adventurer the English had ever encountered in the Indian seas.

II.

A contemporary, a fellow-townsmen, and almost to the same extent a destroyer of English commerce on the Indian waters, was François Thomas Lemême, whose adventures I am now about to record.

Born in 1763 at St. Malo, Lemême enrolled himself as a volunteer on board the privateer the *Prince de Mombany*, commanded

French Navy as a corvette of 22 guns, and re-named the *Jena*. In this new form she sailed with an envoy and despatches for the Persian Gulf, captured the schooner *Swallow* with 2,500 dollars on board her, and the *Janet*, a small country craft, but had herself to succumb to the *Modeste*, a frigate of greatly superior force, which she had approached in the belief that she was a merchant ship. The *Jena* was added to the English Navy, under the name of the *Victor*.—*Asiatic Annual Register*.

James states that the *Modeste* car-

ried 36 guns; and the *Jena* 18. Seven of these, together with her boats, hencoops, and spars, she threw overboard in her attempt to escape.

* As I am not writing a life of Surcouf, I do not propose to enter upon the subject of his disputes with the Governor, especially as the Emperor Napoleon gave a decision in his favour.

† Amongst the most successful of his privateering ventures were the *Auguste*, the *Dorade*, the *Biscayenne*, the *Edoard*, the *Espadon*, the *Ville de Caën*, the *Adolphe*, and the *Renard*.

by one Boynard. This was during the war for the independence of the United States, when opportunities offered to the sons of Brittany and of Normandy to prey upon the commerce of the great rival of France. The cruise of the *Prince de Montbany* was not altogether fortunate. She took, indeed, some merchantmen, but she was forced herself to succumb to an English frigate, "and it was in the prisons of Great Britain," says M. Gallois, "that Lemême learned, in his early youth, to hate with a hatred altogether national the islanders whom he was destined later often to encounter and to overcome."

Released from his British prison by the treaty of Versailles, Lemême continued his seafaring life. He happened to be at the Isle of France in 1793 in command of a small transport brig, the *Hirondelle*, when the intelligence arrived that war had been declared between France and England. Instantly Lemême transformed the *Hirondelle* into a privateer. He armed her with twelve four-pounder carronades, and manned her with eighty men. In addition to these, volunteers pressed forward to serve under him; of them, however, he could take only thirty.

Thus armed and manned, Lemême sailed from the islands in July 1793, taking the direction of the Indian Ocean. On the 15th August he encountered and carried by boarding a Dutch corvette carrying eighteen nine-pounders, called *The Good Werwagting*. It is related that before Lemême had been able to lay the *Hirondelle* alongside her powerful opponent, the fire from the latter had so damaged the French privateer, that one of her officers remarked to the captain that the enemy's fire would sink her. "That's just what I want," remarked Lemême, "we shall be obliged then to put our feet on the decks of that one." Immediately afterwards he brought the *Hirondelle* alongside and boarded.

Nine days later, in company with and aided by his prize, Lemême attacked, and after a contest of forty minutes, captured the *William Thesid*, a large Dutch Indiaman, pierced for sixty, but carrying only forty guns. With these two prizes Lemême returned to the islands.

He did not stay there long. Transferred from the *Hirondelle* to the *Ville de Bordeaux*, carrying 32 guns and having on board a crew of 200 men, Lemême started again in the month of October for his old cruising ground. Proceeding direct to Sumatra, he stormed the fortifications of Padang, one of the Mantawi islands close to the mainland, and seized all the shipping lying off it. Obtaining most advantageous terms from the Dutch Governor, he quitted Padang, his ship well laden with the products of the expedition, and returned to the Isle of France, capturing on his way a Portuguese merchantman, the *Santo Sacramento*. The share of the plunder accruing to Lemême

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from this expedition amounted to eleven hundred thousand francs, equal to £44,000 sterling.

In the *Amphitrite*, of which he next took command, Lemême made several rich captures; but of the particulars I have been unable to obtain a record. Transferred again to *L'Uni*, carrying twenty guns and a crew of 200 men, he became the terror of the Indian seas. She is reported to have captured in her short cruise six merchantmen, two of which carried very valuable cargoes, and four native *grabs** all laden with specie. Lemême, however having placed insufficient prize crews on board these, the Moplahs, who had originally manned them, rose upon and killed their captors. Amongst the letters found on the body of the chief officer was one from Lemême to the owners of *L'Uni*, in which he announced his intention "to sweep the Malabar and Coromandel coasts and to call at Tranquebar for refreshments."† He would appear to have kept his word.

After the return of *L'Uni* to the islands, Lemême made two more cruises in the Indian seas, the first in the *Clarisse*; the second in the *Grande Hirondelle*. The cruise in the *Clarisse* was at least as successful as the cruises which had preceded hers. Hostile ships of war were successfully avoided and merchantmen were successfully encountered. But the same fortune did not attend the *Grande Hirondelle*. After making three captures, she herself was forced to succumb, on the 31st December 1801, to the British frigate *La Sybille*, 48 guns, commanded by Captain Charles Adam.‡

Released from confinement by the treaty of Amiens, Lemême, who had realised an enormous fortune by his cruises, renounced the sea, and started as a merchant. But he managed his affairs so unsuccessfully, that when the war broke out again in 1803, he had lost all he had possessed. Again he resumed his earlier profession, and hoisting his flag on board a three-masted vessel, the *Fortune*, carrying twelve guns and a crew of 160 men, he made his way, towards the end of 1803, to the Bay of Bengal.

This time his success was unexampled. In a very brief period he captured at least fifteen vessels.§ The sums realised by the

* A *grab* is a three-masted vessel peculiar in those days to the Malabar coast.

† *Asiatic Annual Register*.

‡ The fact of the capture of the *Grande Hirondelle* when under the command of Lemême has been ignored by all the French authorities I have been able to consult. In his biographical sketch of Lemême M. Gallois merely mentions that before the peace of Amiens he had cruised in the *Clarisse* and *la Grande Hir-*

ondelle. Yet I have before me not only Captain Adam's official report of the capture, dated 2nd January 1802, but also a letter from Lemême himself, dated the 7th idem, written when a prisoner, and addressed to Captain Adam himself.

Vide *Asiatic Annual Register* 1802, pages 42, 45, 46.

§ The official report of Admiral Linois, published in the *Moniteur* gives a list of ten, viz., the *Barlowe*, the *Eleonora*, the *Active*, the *Pomona*,

sale of these was enormous, the official returns showing that the first six on the list sold for nearly twelve hundred thousand francs. Yet, unfortunately for Lemême, he did not live to enjoy his gains. On the 7th November 1804, in the waters of the Arabian sea, he found himself early in the morning in close proximity to the *Concorde*, a British frigate carrying 48 guns, which had been sent from Bombay in search of him. In vain he attempted to escape. The *Concorde* was a better sailer, and at half-past three o'clock she came within range. Lemême did all that man could do to cripple his adversary. But it was useless. At half-past 10 o'clock, his ship reduced to a wreck, he had to strike his flag.

With this action ended his career. Shipped, the 15th February 1805, on board the *Walthamstow* as a prisoner bound for England, he died on the way (30th March). In him France lost one of the most daring of her sailor adventurers, and the Anglo-Indian community were relieved of the obligation to give to the question, as to the name of the privateer, man by whom their last merchant vessel had been captured, the stereotyped reply of '*toujours lemême.*'

But little inferior to Lemême as a destroyer of British commerce in the Indian seas was Jean Dutertre. In the chronicle of the *Asiatic Annual Register* for November 1799 there appeared the following notice:—"On Monday morning, the 28th October last, an express arrived at the General Post Office, Bombay, from Masulipatam, conveying accounts of the capture of the under-mentioned ships by a French privateer, a little to the northward of the Madras Roads, viz., the Nizwab of Arcot's ship, the *Surprise* galley, the *Princess Royal*, formerly a Company's ship, the *Thomas*, ditto, an extra ship, the *Joyce*, belonging to Masulipatam, the *Lord Hobart*, belonging to Madras. * * * The privateer by which these ships were captured is supposed to be the *Malartic*, mounting 12 guns, and commanded by the same person who took the Danish ship *Harbat* on the coast four months ago."

The supposition was correct. The privateer was the *Malartic*, carrying twelve guns, having a crew of 110 men, and commanded by Jean Dutertre. Dutertre was born at Lorient and early took to the sea. He happened to be at the Isle of France when the *Emilie* arrived there in charge of the prizes which Surcouf

the *Vulcan*, the *Mahomed Baz*, the *Nancy*, the *Creole*, the *Fly*, and the *Shrewsbury*. M. Gallois adds to this list the *Industry*, a packet boat, restored to its owner; the *Bombow*, the *Daos*, and the *Lionne*. In the *Asiatic Annual Register* for March 1804, I find the following: "On the 1st ultimo the *Taxbaz*, under Arab colours, was fired at, and at 9 p.m. taken possession of by the French privateer *La Fortune*, commanded by Citizen Lemême. * * * Captain Mercer was informed on board the privateer that she had taken three vessels, the *Sarah*, the *Eliz*, and the *Active*. The *Taxbaz* was restored to Captain Mercer."

had taken in her. Surcouf, it may be recollected, had abandoned her for his prize, the *Cartier*. Dutertre was then appointed to her command, and in her he made one or two cruises, the details regarding which are altogether wanting. He was next heard of as commanding the *Malartic*, in which he made the prizes to which I have alluded, and subsequently, in addition, he captured the *Governor North* and the *Marquess Wellesley*. Shortly afterwards, however, the *Malartic* was forced to strike her colours to an English vessel of superior force, the *Phoenix*, and Dutertre was taken prisoner to England.

Released by the peace of Amiens Dutertre recommenced his career in the Indian seas. He again became the terror of those waters. In concert with another adventurer named Courson, he, in one season, captured the *Rebecca*, the *Active*, the *Clarendon*, the *William*, the *Betsy Jane*, the *Henry Addington*, the *Admiral Rainier*, the *Lady William Bentinck*, the *Nancy*, the *Actæon*, the *Brothers*; the *Hebe*, the *Mongumah*, and the *Warren Hastings*. So great was the consternation caused that we find the English journals of the period complaining that "there is no part of the world, notwithstanding the superiority of the English marine, in which the enemy does not succeed in molesting our navigation, and in causing us infinite losses."

It was, after all, but the natural consequence of the system of privateering thus affecting the power which carried the commerce of the world.

After this cruise, which began in 1804 and closed the following year, Dutertre entered the French Navy and became lost to the public view. He died in 1811.

Amongst the other adventurers who caused great damage to English commerce, I find the Courson above referred to, and who, previous to the peace of Amiens, had made several captures, and had then been taken prisoner and sent to England; Potier of St. Malo, who succeeded Surcouf in the *Revenant*, and who, in command of that privateer carrying eighteen guns, captured the Portuguese man-of-war, the *Conceição*, pierced for 64, but carrying 54 guns; and Mallerouse of St. Malo, who, commanding the *Iphigénie* of 18 guns, and having captured the *Pearl*, Indianan, carrying ten guns and having on board treasure amounting to more than three lakhs of rupees, found himself suddenly face to face with H. M.'s ship *Trincomali*, carrying eighteen 24-pounder carronades. The combat which ensued was so remarkable that I make no apology for recording it at length. I am fortunately able to quote an authority which every Englishman will recognise as impartial, for the extract which follows is taken from a private letter written to his brother in England by Mr. Cramlington, who

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was chief officer of the *Pearl* when she was captured, and at the time a prisoner on board the *Iphigénie*.

After recounting the story of the capture of the *Pearl* Mr. Cramlington thus continues: "The treasure was shifted on board the privateer the next day; and they were so elated with their success that they determined to return from their cruise immediately. But on the 10th, at night, we fell in with H. M.'s ship *Trincomali*, Capt. Rowe, mounting eighteen 24-pounder carronades, but badly manned.* She had been fitted out at Bombay, and had been cruising in the Gulf nine or ten months; her crew very sickly, had lost a number of them by death, and had no fresh supply. I have been told she had only seventy active men on board.

"A partial action took place the next day as they passed each other, and on the 12th, at 3 P.M., they came within gunshot again, and kept firing at each other till after sunset, but at too great a distance for much damage to be done. Owing to calm and light airs they could not get near each other. A schooner, named the *Comet*, was in company with the *Trincomali*, mounting eight small guns. The captain of the privateer wanted very much to cut her off, but through the bravery and good conduct of her captain all his schemes failed, and she served to engage the *Pearl*, for whom she was more than a match.

"At half-past 6 o'clock the same evening, a fine breeze springing up, the privateer bore down towards her prize. The *Trincomali* allowed, and at 10 P. M., (being moonlight) brought her to action, which continued for two hours with great fury within musket-shot; when, with one ship luffing up, and the other edging down, they fell alongside each other and grappled muzzle and muzzle, in this situation they remained about half an hour, the slaughter very great on both sides. The French, being more numerous, were preparing to board, when by some fatal accident, the *Trincomali* blew up, and every soul on board perished, except one English sea man, named Thomas Dawson, and a lascar. The explosion was so great, and the ships so close, that the privateer's broadside was stove in.

"I leave you to judge the dreadful situation I was in at this crisis; being below two decks, in the square of the main-hatchway, in the place appointed for the wounded, which was full of poor souls of that description in circumstances too shocking to be described. All at once the hatchway was filled in with wood,

* James, in his *Naval History*, writes quite at random regarding the armament of the combatants. He speaks of the *Trincomali* as carrying 16 guns, probably six-pounders (the italics are mine); and of the *Iphigénie* as carrying 22 guns. The French captain he calls "Malroux." Compare his account with that given by the English eye-witness in the text.

the lights were driven out, the water rushing in, and no visible passage to the deck. The ship appeared to be shaken to pieces, as the hold beams had shrunk so considerably, that where there was room before to stand nearly upright, you could now only crawl on hands and knees, which I did towards the hole on the side where the water was coming in. Close to this, by the light of the moon, I found a hole through both decks, which had been newly made, I suppose, by the falling of some of the *Trincomali's* guns, or other wreck. Through this I got with difficulty upon deck, when I found the ship just disappearing forward, and hastened aft as fast as I could over the bodies of the killed, with which the deck was covered, to the taffarel, and jumped overboard.

"I swam a little way from her, dreading the suction, and looked round for her, but she had totally disappeared. I afterwards caught hold of a piece of wood to which I clung for about an hour and a half, and at which time the boats of the *Pearl* came to pick us up, there being about thirty Frenchmen in the same predicament. They, however, were all taken up first; and when I solicited to be taken in, I had a blow made at my head with an oar, which luckily missed me. This treatment I met with from two different boats, and I began to think they were going to leave me to my fate. But the French officer in command of the *Pearl*, hearing there were some Englishmen on the wreck, ordered the boats immediately to return and take us up, viz., myself and Thomas Dawson, then the only survivor of the *Trincomali*.

"There were killed and drowned on board the *Iphigénie* 115 or 120 men. Among whom were the captain, seven officers, the surgeon, two young men, volunteers from the Isle of France, the first boatswain, gunner, and carpenter. All the treasure went down in the privateer. Captain Rowe of the *Trincomali* was killed before his ship blew up, as was also the first lieutenant whose name was Williams. The *Comet*, immediately on the accident happening, made sail from the *Pearl*.* I suppose she was afraid there might be too many Frenchmen for her to manage. On the 15th we arrived here" (Muscat) "for water, &c., and the French officer was so good as to give me my liberty."

The *Pearl* subsequently reached the Isle of France in safety, but the career of Mallerouse was over.

* James says that the *Pearl* escaped from the *Comet*. It would appear from the impartial statement of the Englishman in the text, that the *Comet* fled from the *Pearl*. But let the facts speak. The *Pearl* remaining on the scene of action picked up by successive trips of her boats about 30 Frenchmen and two Englishmen. The

captain of the *Comet*, in his official report, dated 18th February 1800, admits that he only picked four sepoys and a lascar, and those immediately after the accident! It is clear from this that it was not the *Pearl* which sailed first from the scene of the encounter.

In addition to the preceding I may mention Pinaud of Nantes. One incident in the career of this brave adventurer deserves to be recorded.

In my notice of Surcouf I have mentioned the feats he was able to accomplish in the *Clarisse*, a brig carrying fourteen guns. When Surcouf left the *Clarisse* for the *Confiante*, the command of the former was entrusted to Pinaud. Pinaud took her in 1800 to the Indian seas, made many captures, but was forced himself to succumb to an English man-of-war. Taken to Madras, he was thrown into prison, and finally placed, with about six hundred other prisoners, on board the *Prince*, Indiaman, to be taken to England under the convoy of a squadron of six ships of war returning thither. The convoy sailed the middle of 1801, and reached in safety the latitude of the Isle of France. The locality Pinaud considered favourable, if other circumstances should combine, to strike a blow for freedom. He communicated his plan to his companions. They approved. It so happened that on the 29th October the squadron was surprised; when near the Isle of France, by a heavy squall which dispersed the vessels composing it. Pinaud considered the moment opportune. The chief officer was in the fore-topmast crosstrees; the second officer in charge of the deck; the captain, the military officers, and two French officers (prisoners) were in the cuddy taking tea, when suddenly there rushed upon them Pinaud at the head of a strong party of prisoners. Another division at the same time took possession of the deck. The surprise had been so well managed and the secret so well kept that there was not even the semblance of a struggle. Pinaud took command of the ship, followed the course laid down for some time so as not to excite suspicion, then, when night fell, he put out all the lights, changed the ship's course, and reached the Isle of France a few weeks later (20th November). Pinaud next made a most successful cruise in the *Subtile*. He subsequently transferred his cruising ground to the West Indies.

It would be a tale of repetition to recount the deeds of several other adventurers, such as Cautance of the *Eugene*; Peron of the *Bellone*; and Henri of the *Henriette*. It will suffice to state that the injury inflicted on the British trade with the East was enormous, and the gain to the French so immediate that the privateers continued to increase and prosper in spite of our overwhelming naval superiority.

III.

The secret of their impunity lay in the fact that in the Isles of France and Bourbon, the enemy's cruisers possessed a strong base of operations. It was the charmed refuge to which they could retire; from which they could issue with renewed strength.

It may be asked why the British, boasting as they did of the command of the seas, allowed those islands to remain so long in the possession of their deadliest enemy. The question is difficult, even at this distant period, to answer. The sagacious intellect of Marquess Wellesley had early detected the weak point in the British armour, and with characteristic vigour he had at once applied himself to repair it. Very soon after the fall of Seringapatam he had organised from the armies of the three presidencies a force which, massed at Trincomali, should proceed thence to the conquest of Java and of the French islands. This expedition had been on the very point of setting out when urgent orders from England, despatched overland, diverted it to Egypt to aid the expeditionary corps of Sir Ralph Abercromby. Partly, probably, owing to the "timid councils" which supervened on the departure of the great Marquess from India; partly, likewise, on account of the exaggerated idea entertained in England of the strength of the islands, and of the great difficulties which would attend an expedition, the idea was allowed for some years to drop. The British Government contented itself with spasmodic directions to blockade the islands,—a measure, the effective carrying out of which was impossible, and which, even when attempted, did not affect the successful egress and ingress of the adventurous cruisers.

At length the damage done by those cruisers aroused a cry of indignation and despair to which it was impossible that the Government should remain longer deaf. Under the pressure thus excited the Governor-General, Lord Minto, urged upon the Home Government the necessity of adopting measures more effectual than that of a blockade by ships depending for their supplies on the Cape or on Bombay. Lord Minto was in consequence authorised to occupy Rodriguez, a small island about three hundred miles to the east of the Isle of France. Still neither the English Government nor the Governor-General entertained any idea beyond gaining a base from which to supply blockading squadrons. In accordance with these views a small force, consisting of 200 Europeans and two hundred natives, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, was despatched in May 1809 from Bombay, in H. M.'s ship *Belliqueux*, to occupy Rodriguez.

Rodriguez, used by the French as a garden to supply the larger islands with vegetables, was garrisoned by three Frenchmen, gardeurs, and these were insufficient, even if they had been inclined, to offer any serious resistance. The English detachment, therefore, occupied the island without opposition, the 4th August. They kept the French gardeners to grow vegetables on its soil, whilst using the island also as a depôt for ships' stores. These were landed in great numbers.

It was soon found, however, that the French privateers still

ailed and returned with their prizes as they had been accustomed to sail and to return. They continued to elude, as successfully as they had before eluded, the vigilance of the British cruisers. In a word, it was found that even with a base so near to the scene of operations as was Rodriguez, effectual blockade of the islands was impossible.

Under these circumstances the garrison of Rodriguez was strengthened, and Colonel Keating was authorised to make an attempt on the Isle of Bourbon.* That officer accordingly embarked on the 16th September (1809) 368 officers and men, of whom one-half belonged to the 2nd Bombay Native Infantry, on board H. M.'s ships *La Néréide* and *Otter* and the Hon'ble Company's cruiser *Wasp*. On the 18th these three vessels arrived off Port Louis, and the following morning they joined H. M.'s ships *Raisonable* and *Sirius*; the naval force being commanded by Commodore Rowley of the former. That same day the seamen and troops destined for the attack, amounting to 604 men, were massed on board the *Néréide*, and towards evening the squadron stood for the Isle of Bourbon, off the eastern coast of which it arrived on the morning of the 20th. Colonel Keating, however, had resolved to attempt to carry St. Paul, the chief town on the western side, to secure the batteries there, and to force the surrender of the enemy's shipping in the port.

At 5 o'clock on the morning of the 21st the troops were disembarked to the south of Point de Galotte, seven miles from St. Paul. They were formed into three columns: the reserve, composed of eighty men of the Pompadours, and eighty of the Royal Marines under the command of Captain Forbes; the second column consisting of the detail of the 2nd Battalion 2nd Bombay Native Infantry under the command of Captain Imlack; the centre column formed of 100 sailors under Captain Willoghby, and of the remainder of the Pompadours and Marines, about 140 in number, under Captain Hanna.

Colonel Keating landed first with the reserve to cover the disembarkation of the other two columns. This having been effected, the reserve column was directed to proceed under Captain Forbes by the road leading to St. Paul, until it should pass the bridge over the lake, when it was to make a turn to the left, and take possession first of the barracks, then of the second battery, La Pierre, and then to proceed on to the first battery, La Centière, where it would receive fresh orders from the commanding officer: the second column under Captain Imlack, was directed to pass

* This island was then called "Bonaparte", and was subsequently named and has since been known as Reunion; but for the sake of uniformity I adhere to the nomenclature it bore from the time of its first occupation by the French.

the river Galotte, then to proceed along the seashore until it should reach the rivulet running from the lake into the bay. It was then to advance up the bed of the rivulet, past the right flank of the battery, Lamboucère, then move out and form towards the sea, thus bringing it within pistol-shot of the rear of the battery, of which Captain Imlack was to take possession, spike the guns, and then move on to La Centière.

The centre column under Colonel Keating was to march straight on the battery, La Centière, and occupy it, detaching thence a force to take possession of the battery, La Neuve. La Centière was to constitute the main post.

Whilst the British troops are marching in the order above indicated, I propose to take a glance at the means possessed by the French commandant of the island to resist so formidable an invasion.

The commander of the French force in the island of Bourbon was General des Bruslys. That force was very small. There were concentrated at the capital, St. Denis, under the personal command of General des Bruslys, about one hundred troops of the line, and 300 Creoles. At St. Paul, there were on board the frigate *Caroline* anchored in the harbour, 110 troops of the line, and from two to three hundred Creoles. The remainder of the force, entirely Creole, was scattered over nine districts,* from which they could not without difficulty be suddenly withdrawn and concentrated on a given point. Des Bruslys was expecting an attack not at St. Paul, but at St. Denis. His lieutenant at the former place, the Commandant St. Michiel, had received no intimation that the English were about to land. When they did land he had no then even withdrawn from the *Caroline* the European troops on board of her.

It can easily be conceived then that Colonel Keating's first attack was successful. The second column took possession of the battery Lamboucère, and the centre column of the battery La Centière without any strong opposition, except that offered by the fire from the enemy's ships in the river. The reserve column had likewise moved on La Centière and had turned its guns on the enemy's shipping. The second column, under Captain Imlack, consisting only of 142 men of the 2nd Bombay Native Infantry and of twelve Europeans, was then sent to take possession of the battery La Neuve, deserted by the enemy.

But before Captain Imlack could reach La Neuve the French appeared on the field. Very early that morning the Commandant St. Michiel had ordered the disembarkation of the 110 Europeans from the *Caroline*, and had directed them to join him

* These were St. Leu, St. Louis, Benoit, St. André, St. Suzanne, and St. Pierre, St. Joseph, St. Rose, St. St. Marie.

as soon as possible in a very strong position he had taken up in front of the battery La Neuve. This position was covered by a stone wall, carefully loop-holed, and flanked on both sides by a strong natural defence. Each of these flanks was again covered by three six-pounders.

This position had been occupied by St. Michiel whilst the English were marching on the batteries Lamboucère and La Centière. He occupied it still with about 150 Creoles when the swarthy sons of India under their English officers marched upon it. The attack was conducted with great gallantry, but the defences were too strong and the artillery fire too concentrated, and the sepoys fell back. A second attack was not more successful. The British centre column, consisting entirely of Europeans, was then ordered up to reinforce the native troops. Again the attacking party charged. This time they succeeded, after a desperate conflict, in taking two of the enemy's guns, but they made no impression on his position. It was now the turn of the French to be reinforced. They were joined by 110 Europeans from the *Caroline*, and by many Creoles from the hills. The contest was now resumed with greater fury than ever, and it became necessary for the English commander to bring up the reserve under Captain Forbes. This officer, advancing by a circuitous route, occupied the battery La Neuve and thus took up a position very nearly in rear of the enemy.

St. Michiel felt his post no longer tenable. He evacuated it therefore, and fell back upon St. Paul; losing, after a most gallant resistance, his four remaining guns. After that the course of the English was easy. The fourth and fifth batteries, La Pierre and La Caserne, fell into their hands. By half-past eight they had taken possession of the town, the magazines, eight brass field pieces, one hundred and seventeen new and heavy iron guns of different calibres, and all the stores. The commodore, seeing the success of the troops, immediately stood in, anchored close to the enemy's shipping, and compelled it to surrender. The same evening Colonel Keating destroyed all the public property in the town not fit for transport, and re-embarked his troops.

General des Bruslys learned with surprise the same night the landing of the British troops on the west coast of the island. He immediately collected all his available men and marched towards St. Paul. He arrived on the hills covering the town on the evening of the 22nd and encamped there. Colonel Keating determined to dislodge him the following morning. He accordingly embarked his entire force in boats early on the 23rd. But whether it was that des Bruslys thought that further resistance would only lead to greater disaster, or whether the moral tension was too strong for

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him, this at least is certain, that he did not wait for a contest, but retreated to St. Denis and shot himself.*

The Commandant St. Michiel succeeded to the post thus vacated by des Bruslys. There was nothing left for him but to negotiate with the conqueror. The conditions insisted upon by the latter were not heavy. It was arranged that he should retain possession of St. Paul until he should be able to place on board his ships the stores he had taken there, and to fit out the captured vessels† for sea. This was soon accomplished, and on the 2nd October Colonel Keating evacuated the island and set sail for Rodriguez.

IV

The success of this expedition showed the Government how far from formidable were the resources possessed by the islands, and how easy it would be to strike a decisive blow at these harbours of safety for the French privateers. Impressed with this idea Lord Minto, without waiting for orders from England, despatched in the spring of 1810, considerable reinforcements from the three presidencies to the island of Rodriguez. These reinforcements raised the troops under Colonel Keating's orders to 3,650 men, of whom not quite one-half were Europeans. So confident was Lord Minto of the success of his plans that he nominated, in anticipation, Mr. Farquhar of the Bengal Civil Service to be Governor of the island!

The transports conveying the reinforcements to Colonel Keating arrived off Rodriguez on the 25th June, but it was not till the 3rd July that the expedition was able to start for its destination. This time Colonel Keating had determined to strike at once at the heart of Bourbon, at its capital, St. Denis. With this view it was arranged that the transports should meet at a given point about fifty miles to the windward of the island; that the troops should then concentrate by brigades on board H. M.'s ships of war‡ and that these should proceed at once to the points marked out for each beforehand.

About 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th July, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and 150 troops of the 4th brigade, accom-

* He left a paper saying that he had destroyed himself to avoid death on the scaffold,—a commentary on the dread caused in a weak mind by the terrible knowledge that his master required, before all things, success.

† These were the *Caroline* frigate, 44 guns; the *Grappier* brig, 11 guns; the *Streatham* a merchantman, 850

tons and pierced for 30 guns; the *Europe*, 820 tons, pierced for 26 guns; the *Fanny*, 150 tons; the *Tres Amis* and *La Creole* of sixty tons each.

‡ These were the *Boadicea*, 35; the *Sirius*; the *Iphigenia*; the *Majestienne*; and the *Néréide*.

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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of
fighting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage
and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust
and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish
and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utter-
ly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NO. CXXVIII.

ART. I.—THE CORSAIRS OF THE ISLE OF FRANCE.

BETWEEN the peace of Versailles and the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, the French Marine was but thinly represented on the Indian seas. But when in 1793, war was declared between the two nations, the flag of the French Republic, that flag which so soon was to make the tour of Europe, appeared again to animate those whom it represented to fight, not on this occasion for victory, but for existence.

For, indeed, at the outset of the struggle the navy of France was far from being in a condition to combat the ships of her ancient rival with any prospect of success. The nobility, from which its officers had been drawn, had emigrated in large numbers, and the democratic principle, which had been introduced upon the ruins of that which had crumbled away because its foundations had rotted, had been denied the opportunity granted to the land forces of developing, on the spur of the moment, a perfect system of promotion and command. Nevertheless, even under these trying circumstances, the navy of France proved not unworthy of the renown it had inherited from Tourville, from Duguay-rouin, from Jean Bart, from de Forbin,* and from Suffren. The battle of the 1st June, fought by an untried admiral, with a fleet in no way superior to its enemy in numbers and weight of metal, and newly officered from the lowest to the highest grade,† was indeed a defeat, though not a very decisive

* The memoirs of the Count de Forbin, Commodore of the French Navy in the time of Louis XIV. were considered so remarkable that they were translated into English and published in London in the year 1731.

† Rear Admiral Kerguelen, writing at the time, gives an animated description of the flagrant mode in which officers were appointed to the ships of war "by charlatans and ignorant enemics." He gives details to prove his statements. Captain Brenton, R. N., writing on the same subject, says:

"The French fleet was no longer manned and officered as in the splendid times of Louis XIV. ** Most of the seamen had been marched to the Rhine and the Moselle to fill the ranks of the army, and their places were supplied by wretched conscripts and fishermen. The captains of the line were men totally unqualified from their habits for such a station; they had been, with few exceptions, masters of merchantmen, and knew nothing of the signal book or of the mode of conducting a ship of war."

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defeat; yet who will say that under all the circumstances of the case, that defeat even was not glorious to the French arms?

Another cause which tended at this period to the demoralisation and injury of the French fleet, was the intense party-feeling which prevailed throughout the country. It was this party-feeling that induced Toulon, one of the great harbours of France, to revolt against the established form of government in the country. This revolt caused the loss to the French of twenty ships of the line and twenty-five frigates. Of these, three ships of the line, one of 120 guns, and twelve frigates, fell into the hands of the English—not conquered in fair fight, but betrayed by the partisans of the used-up race which France had expelled.

France, then, thus heavily weighted at starting, could dream no more of conquests on the Indian seas. She could not even defend her possessions on the mainland of India. These fell without a struggle to her fortunate rival. But she could still protect the islands, to the chief of which she had lent her own fair name; she could still protect her commerce; she could still inflict damage on the commerce of her enemy.* But to carry out this programme on the Indian waters, she had now no fleet available. To light squadrons, to single ships, to privateers, she had to leave these arduous duties. The deeds which were under such circumstances accomplished possess an interest all their own. Some of those performed by the privateers are worthy to be classed with the achievements of Duquesne, of Duguay-Trouin, and of Jean Bart.

Conspicuous amongst the commanders of these privateers was Robert Surcouf. His exploits were so intimately connected with the Indian seas; he took so leading a part in the devastation of English commerce from the very outbreak of hostilities; that I make no apology for bringing him at once before my readers, as one of the most considerable and the most successful of the naval adventurers with whom our countrymen had to deal on the Indian waters.

The advantages offered by the Isles of France and Bourbon as

* That she was successful is shown by the following tables taken from the official documents:—

		Merchant Ships taken by the French from the English.		Merchant Ships taken by the English from the French.	
In 1793	...	261	...	63	} Being a proportion in five years of more than six to one.
" 1794	...	527	...	88	
" 1795	...	502	...	47	
" 1796	...	414	...	63	
" 1797	...	562	...	114	
		<hr/> 2,266		<hr/> 375	

a refuge for French cruisers, whence these could sally to commit depredations upon British commerce, induced the British authorities to despatch in the early part of 1794 a squadron to watch and blockade the islands. This squadron, originally intended to consist of four ships, was finally composed only of the *Centurion* 50, Captain Osborne, and the *Diomedé* 44, Captain Smith.

The islands, in the first throes of the revolution, had been virtually abandoned to their own resources by the mother country, nor did the latter fully resume her protective control until after the events of the 18 Brumaire. In the meanwhile the chief men in the islands, military, naval, and commercial, had formed a sort of provisional administration. The first question to be solved was that of 'how to live?' This was answered in the manner I have indicated above. A few stray frigates and a considerable and increasing number of privateers were sent to prey on the English commerce. Their gains, as may well be imagined, were enormous; and from a portion of these gains, the treasury of the colonies was replenished.

The alarm which spread in the islands when the news reached them of the arrival in their waters of two English ships of war to intercept their cruisers can easily be imagined. There were not wanting, however, bold men, who forbade their fellow-colonists to despair, and who promised to sally forth and drive away the daring strangers. Prominent amongst these adventurous spirits was Jean-Marie Renaud, a captain in the navy of France, and commodore of the small squadron which found itself at the time at the islands. This squadron consisted only of the frigates *Cybèle*, 40, and *Prudente*, 36, the brig *Courier*, 14, and the privateer *Jean-Bart*.* Renaud called a council of war of their captains, and as they agreed with him that boldness was prudence, he took out his little squadron that same afternoon to attack the strangers. He found them, and bore down upon them at half-past 3 o'clock on the third day (22nd October). The combat which followed was obstinate, bloody, and, as it appeared at the moment, undecided. The French lost more men than the English; Renaud was wounded; his flag captain, Flouet, was killed; the same fate befell the first lieutenant of the *Cybèle*. Yet, in spite of these losses, the French succeeded in their main object. The two English ships renounced the blockade and disappeared.

At this time Robert Surcouf was engaged in cruising between the Isle of France and the coast of Africa. Born at St. Malo on the 12th December 1773, descended by his mother from the illustrious Duguay-Trouin, he had been sent to sea at the

* The English historian, James, speaks of the *Jean-Bart* as a 20-gun corvette. She may have carried 20 guns, though that would seem doubtful, but she was only a privateer.

age of thirteen. In 1790 he made a voyage to India in the *Aurora*. On the breaking out of the war with England he was transferred to the French navy and returned to France. Arriving, he left the navy and set out as captain of a slaver, the *Oréole*, for Africa. Having landed in the islands the negroes he had obtained, he quitted for ever that service, and accepted, in September 1795, the command of a privateer of 180 tons burden, carrying four six-pounders, and a crew of thirty men. The name of this vessel was *la Modeste*, but Surcouf changed it to *l'Emilie*.

For some reason the Governor of the islands, M. de Malartic, declined on this occasion to give Surcouf a letter of marque. He granted him permission only to defend himself in the event of his being attacked. Surcouf's ostensible mission was to proceed to the Seychelles islands and procure thence a supply of turtle for the colonists.

The *Emilie* was a very fine sailer, and Surcouf, glowing with the ardour and enterprise of his twenty years, was a bold and daring seaman. He was not quite the man to be content with procuring turtle for his fellow-citizens. However, he directed his course straight to the Seychelles, and cast anchor off one of the islands on the 13th September. Here he stayed several days employing himself in taking on board articles of native produce. Already he had nearly loaded his vessel, when on the afternoon of the 7th October, he discovered two large English ships bearing down upon him from the south-east-by-south.

To cut his cable, to thread the intricacies of the navigation of the Archipelago, and to gain the high seas, was an object to which he instantly bent his energies. It was a daring exploit, for the navigation of the Seychelles islands was but little known, and many ships had been lost there. But, again, daring was prudence. With every sail set he traversed the difficult passages, then, finding himself in the open sea, he directed his course eastward. Caught by the changing monsoon, when approaching Achin, he again altered his course, determined to fly before it. When the fury of the storm had moderated, Surcouf turned the head of the *Emilie* towards Pegu. Scarcely, however, had he doubled Cape Negrais when he found himself almost face to face with an English vessel.

This was a trading ship, the *Penguin*, laden with wood. Surcouf captures her, places a few of his men on board, and starts her off for the islands. He then turns and follows as nearly as he can the coast towards the Bay of Bengal. He meets, however, no craft upon which he can seize; till, suddenly, at day-break on the 19th January, he finds himself close to two English ships, towed by a pilot brig, at one of the mouths of the Ganges.

Surcouf attacked and took the three ships. Then, finding that

the pilot brig was more adapted to his purposes than the *Emilie*, he removes to her his guns and his crew, calling her the *Cartier*, and sends off the *Emilie* in charge of his two prizes to the islands.

Still cruising off the mouths of the river, Surcouf discovered on the evening of the 28th January, a large three-masted vessel going out to sea. He at once made for her and captured her. She proved to be the *Diana*, having on board a large cargo of rice. He then started with his prize for the islands.

But fortune was not always to befriend him. The very morning after the capture of the *Diana* he sighted a large English ship bearing up for the coast of Orissa. This was the *Triton*, an Indiaman carrying 26 guns and a crew of 150 men. Surcouf let the *Diana* approach him so as to increase his own crew; which, by the addition thus obtained, reached the number of nineteen men, himself and the surgeon included. He then set sail towards the *Triton*, of whose force he was naturally ignorant. Finding that she sailed better than the *Cartier* he hoisted the Union Jack. The *Triton* recognising the *Cartier* as a pilot brig, hove to. As Surcouf approached her, he became for the first time aware of her formidable armament and of the number of her crew. At first he hoped these latter might be lascars, and it was not till he arrived within cannon-shot that he discovered them to be all Europeans.

He was lost. What could his seventeen men and four guns effect against the 150 men and twenty-six twelve-pounders of the enemy? And he was within cannon-shot! Destruction seemed inevitable. He could not flee, for the *Triton* had shown herself a better sailer. The smallest hesitation would betray him. What was he to do?

Once more boldness was prudence. Not for one moment did Surcouf relax his onward movement. He summoned his crew, pointed out to them the enemy's guns, and told them that the *Triton* must be either their tomb or the cradle of their glory. The crew declared with enthusiasm that they would conquer or die. Surcouf at once sent his men below, then keeping near him only the master, the officer of the watch, a sailor, and two or three lascars whom he had taken from his prizes, he came up rapidly to within half pistol-shot on the windward quarter of the *Triton*. Then suddenly replacing the Union Jack by the Tricolor, he fired a broadside on the group of sailors on the Indiaman's deck. Terror and astonishment contended with each other amongst the assaulted English. Surcouf at once turned his ship's head to the wind, clambered on board the *Triton*, and took advantage of the confusion which prevailed there to send up six men into the shrouds of the mizen-mast, thence, supported by the fire of their comrades, to carry the poop. A desperate struggle then

ensued. The *Cartier* is ranged alongside the *Triton*; every Frenchman gains the deck; the English surprised, unarmed, are one by one driven below; gradually the hatches are closed up by their gratings; the port-ropes are cut, and Surcouf does everything in his power to keep the enemy below.

Many of the English had been killed at the first broadside. The remainder, recovering from their surprise, make a manful resistance. Their indignation is increased by the discovery made by some of them of the small number of their assailants. They attempt to blow up the quarter deck; but Surcouf discovering their project, opens so heavy a fire upon them through the main-hatchway that they are forced to desist. At last, finding their efforts useless, the crew surrender.

Such was the capture of the *Triton*,—a very *Triton* caught by a minnow,—a capture so marvellous that even the Indian journals of the day wrote of it as “an extraordinary capture.”* Undoubtedly it was an act of piracy, for Surcouf bore no commission to attack English vessels, yet the captain of the *Triton* was necessarily ignorant of this deficiency in the powers of his enemy. He knew that France and England were at war, and he ought to have known that an enemy will always take advantage of any ruse to gain his ends; that stratagem is fair in war.

Leaving out of consideration for a moment the defect in Surcouf's commission, it must be admitted that his conduct in most dangerous circumstances showed wonderful self-possession, daring, and nerve. He was not then twenty-two. Had he known the force of the *Triton* neither he, nor any man in his senses, would under the circumstances have attempted to capture her. But finding himself suddenly in a position from which it was impossible to escape, except by the display of a surpassing audacity and the happiest presence of mind, he, on the moment, did display those qualities—and conquered.

After the capture had been effected, Surcouf, embarrassed by the number of his prisoners, who greatly exceeded his own crew, ransomed the *Diuna* to her former captain for a bill for 30,000 *sicca* rupees,† and after transferring to her his prisoners, he let her go. Then removing the bulk of his crew to the *Triton* he sailed in her for the islands, instructing the *Cartier*‡ to follow as rapidly as she could. Surcouf reached the Isle of France in safety; but scarcely had he landed when he was informed that the Governor, M. de Malartic, had confiscated his prizes on the

* *Madras Courier*, 16th February 1796. was illegal.

† The bill on presentation was not paid; the drawee contending that he had discovered that the transaction

‡ The *Cartier* was re-captured in the Bay of Bengal by an English man-of-war.

plea that he was unauthorised to make captures. Against such a ruling Surcouf appealed in person to the Directory. The case came before the Council of the Five Hundred, who, on the 4th September 1797 (17 Fructidor, year V) pronounced a decision in Surcouf's favour. His prizes, sold at the islands, had realised the sum of 1,700,000 francs; but certain difficulties having arisen regarding the question of exchange, Surcouf agreed to accept for himself and his crew the diminished sum of 660,000 francs. This amount was paid him.

Surcouf remained about fourteen months in France. Tired then of inaction, he obtained at Nantes the command of a privateer brig, called the *Clarisse*, mounting 14 guns and having a crew of 120 men. He set out with her in September for the Indian seas, and reached the line without sighting a vessel. Scarcely, however, had he entered the southern hemisphere when a sail was signalled. She proved to be an English three-masted vessel carrying 26 guns. The wind was in her favour, and she bore down with all sail on the *Clarisse*.

Here again destruction seemed inevitable. The prospect did not, however, appal Surcouf. He first exchanged broadsides with his enemy, then wearing, came down on the starboard tack and took up an advantageous position on his quarter. For half an hour the victory was obstinately contested, but at the end of that time, the stranger, having been considerably maltreated and having lost her captain, clapped on all sail and bore away. The *Clarisse* was in no condition to follow her.

The damages sustained on that occasion were quickly repaired, and Surcouf pursued his journey without interruption to the Indian seas. Still sailing eastward he captured, after a severe combat, two English merchant ships with rich cargoes. He returned with these to the island of Bourbon, the Isle of France being blockaded by British cruisers. Having there repaired and refitted the *Clarisse*, he sailed again (August 1799) for the Straits. In this voyage he touched at Java, and landed there to replenish his water-tanks. Whilst on shore here with only a few of his crew, he was suddenly attacked by a chieftain of the country who came upon him with a large following. Unprepared and his crew unarmed, Surcouf owed his escape to the presence of mind which never failed him. Leaving his musket still slung across his shoulders he advanced towards the Javanese chieftain and placed in his hand a red handkerchief he had untied from his neck. The chieftain, whose actions up to that moment had denoted the greatest hostility, seemed so fascinated by the colour of the present he had received that he contented himself with making signs to Surcouf and his men to re-embark immediately. It need scarcely be added that the hint was promptly taken.

In the cruise which followed, the *Clarisse* captured a Danish ship carrying an English cargo, a Portuguese ship, and an English merchantman, the *Auspicious*. A few days later Surcouf was in pursuit of another merchantman and was fast approaching her, when he perceived bearing down upon him from an opposite direction a vessel which was unmistakably a ship of war.

This was no other than the English frigate *La Sybille* of 48 guns, which had but recently captured off the Sandheads the French frigate *La Forte* of 52 guns. Surcouf was apparently lost, as the English frigate soon showed herself a better sailer than the *Clarisse*. But he did not despair. He cast overboard his spare masts and spars; then eight of his heavy guns; and that not being sufficient, he half-emptied his water casks. Thus lightened the *Clarisse* gained rapidly on the frigate, and at day-break the following morning the latter was completely out of sight. Two days later Surcouf captured an English merchantman, the *James*, laden with rice, and on the fourth day after that the American ship *Louisa*. With these captures Surcouf closed his career in the *Clarisse*. Returning with his prizes to the islands, he was offered the command of a new privateer, just arrived from Bordeaux, and reputed to be the fastest sailer afloat. Surcouf accepted the offer.

The new privateer was named *La Confiance*. She was of between four and five hundred tons burden, and carried sixteen guns. Her crew consisted of 159 Frenchmen, 25 volunteers from the island of Bourbon, and about 20 natives. She left the islands for her cruise in the Indian waters the middle of April 1800.

Surcouf went first to the Malabar coast on account of the monsoon. But in July he directed thence his course towards Trincomali. Chased, though in vain, off that harbour by an English man-of-war, he pushed his way towards the mouths of the Ganges, having captured up to this time one American and two English merchantmen. He was off the Sandheads on 7th October when a sail was signalled to the eastward. Soon she was discerned to be a large and heavily armed ship. She was, in fact, the *Kent*, an Indiaman of 820 tons, carrying twenty-six guns, and having on board 437 Europeans, including troops.*

The *Kent* carelessly approached *La Confiance*, taking her to be a friend. Nor was it till she was within cannonshot that her

* The French accounts state that besides twenty-six broadside guns, the *Kent* carried twelve on her quarter-deck and fore-castle. James implies that this was not so. On the other hand, James reduces the number of the crew, including passengers, to about

140. But this is manifestly incorrect, for besides her own crew of more than 120, she had taken on board the entire crew of the *Queen*, an Indiaman burnt at St. Salvador, and she had besides, the troops and passengers of both vessels.

panied by Captain Willoughby, R. N., commanding a party of sailors, the whole constituting the advanced guard of the force, were successfully landed at a point between the battery St. Marie and the batteries of the town. A few moments later, Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, commanding the 3rd brigade, effected a landing with 150 men, somewhat to the right of Colonel Campbell's party, expecting to be joined by the remainder of his brigade. But just at this moment the weather, which till then had been calm and moderate, suddenly became stormy. So violent was the surf that further disembarkation was impossible. Under these circumstances Colonel Keating could not fail to be very anxious for the safety of the handful of troops which had but just landed. Impressed, however, with the truth of the motto that in all doubtful circumstances boldness is prudence, the colonel was desirous that his troops should try to daunt the enemy by themselves taking the initiative. But the violence of the surf had increased and was increasing. No boat could take an order to them. Yet the fate of the three or four hundred men just landed seemed to depend upon their receiving one. Every device was tried. A small vessel was beached, stern foremost, in the hope that one at least of her crew might make his way to the shore. But the fury of the elements frustrated even this attempt. Further effort appeared impossible. Colonel Keating was in despair. At this crisis Lieutenant Foulstone, H. M.'s 69th Regiment, came forward unsolicited, and volunteered to swim through the surf and carry orders to Colonel Macleod. His offer was promptly accepted. Carried in a boat to the edge of the surf Foulstone jumped in, and though a good deal knocked about, reached the shore. He carried orders to Colonel Macleod to unite the two parties which had landed, and at once to attack and storm St. Marie. Macleod carried out these instructions with spirit and energy, occupied the post, and remained there unmolested all night.

As the weather next day showed no signs of moderating, Colonel Keating proceeded with the third and fourth brigades to the leeward, to Grand Chaloupe; where, on the 8th, about 11 A.M., he succeeded in effecting a landing. Colonel Keating at this point was separated from the town by heights. He lost no time in crossing these, and before 2 P.M. he occupied a position from which he could command the enemy's entrenchments.

But affairs had gone somewhat too fast for him. The first brigade, commanded by Colonel Fraser, had succeeded at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th, in effecting a landing in a position to the south of the capital within sight of the enemy. This daring achievement had the effect of concentrating upon Colonel Fraser the entire attention of the French commandant, and diverting it from Colonel Macleod's isolated party. Colonel Fraser resolved

to keep his attention fixed. He at once pushed forward, dislodged the enemy from the heights, and then took up a commanding position just above the town.

He had with him only 350 bayonets, all Europeans, but with these he kept the enemy anxious and occupied until darkness fell. He then retreated to a secure position a little in the rear which cut the communications between St. Denis and St. Paul.

Re-inforced during the night by from 300 to 400 sepoy, and by his guns and pioneers, Colonel Fraser, posting the sepoy so as to protect his rear, advanced at 4 o'clock in the morning towards the town, re-occupied the position of the previous evening, and, forming his troops there, waited for the day.

When day broke Fraser saw in the plain below him the whole available French force. This force, consisting of 190 Europeans and 350 Creoles, was drawn up in two columns, each with a field piece at its head, covered by the concentrated fire of the batteries, and commanded by the successor of the unfortunate des Brusly, Colonel de Suzanne. Fraser did not hesitate. Under a mixed shower of balls issuing all at once from the many and deep-toned mouths of the ordnance and musketry* the British soldiers descended the heights in steady and unbroken alignment. When they reached the plain Colonel Fraser gave the order to charge. They at once charged home.

The French stood firm, covered by their guns, till the rush of the British grenadiers warned them of the earnestness of the play. They then retired in good order, without waiting for actual contact, behind the guns. But even there they were not safe from their infuriated enemy. Where they could retire he could follow. And he did follow. The dash of the onset could not be withstood. The French commandant escaped with difficulty; the second in command was taken prisoner; the men were driven headlong from position to position until all their redoubts were occupied by their victorious rivals, and though rallying, they did make an effort to recover these, the attempt was not only unsuccessful, but it cost them the life of their leader. Shortly afterwards the French commandant sent a cartel asking for terms. A little later Colonel Fraser was joined by the second brigade under Colonel Drummond.

Such was the position when Colonel Keating with the third and fourth brigades came within sight of St. Denis on the afternoon of the 8th September. He was about to march on the town when a messenger from Colonel Fraser brought him the intelligence of its surrender.

The formal capitulation was not indeed signed till the evening

* *Asiatic Annual Register.*

of the following day. By the terms of it the entire island of Bourbon, containing a population of upwards of 100,000 souls, became British territory. This conquest had been effected with a loss of only eighteen men killed and seventy-nine wounded. There was no further resistance. The French troops were transported as prisoners of war to the Cape.

V.

The news of the capture of Bourbon reached Calcutta on the 24th August. It had the effect of stimulating the determination to conquer the larger island. It was known that the French squadron charged with the protection of the two islands, and consisting of the *Bellone* and *Minerve* frigates, and the sloop *Victor*, was absent on a cruise in the Indian seas. Mr. Farquhar, the new Governor of Bourbon, considered then the moment opportune, even before he should receive official authority, for feeling his way towards the accomplishment of this greater work. Accordingly on the 13th August he embarked 250 men on board the boats of the frigates at his disposal, and sent them that night to attempt the surprise of the Isle de la Passe. This small island, distant only three miles from the mainland, lies at the entrance of the harbour of Grand Port, then called Port Imperial, on the south-eastern coast of the Isle of France. The expedition was successful, and a garrison of 150 men was left to guard de la Passe. From this advanced post the English were able to communicate with the mainland, and Mr. Farquhar thought he could make an advantageous use of this communication by distributing to the people of the island copies of a proclamation in which the ambition of the French was contrasted disadvantageously with the good government of the English. This somewhat childish demonstration met with the fate that might have been anticipated. It failed to seduce a single islander.

Before adverting to the measures next taken by the English, I propose to remark for a few moments on the state of affairs at this moment in the Isle of France. The Governor of that island was General Count Decaen. He was one of the most distinguished officers of the French Army. He had made his earlier campaigns under Kléber, Hoche, and Moreau. At Hohenlinden he had contributed more than any other general, excepting perhaps General Bugepanse, to the decisive victory. Named in 1802 by the First Consul Captain-General of the French possessions to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, he had accompanied Admiral Linois to the Indian waters, had with him visited Pondichery, and recognising the impossibility of keeping that place in the event of the breaking out of a war, then imminent, with England, had sailed to the Isle of France, thence to concert the measure which it might still

be possible to direct against the resolute enemy of his country. But he did not stop there. He devoted himself with all the ardour of his generous and enlightened nature to the amelioration of the condition of the islanders. He modified and improved the old commercial laws; he established a number of useful institutions; codified the general, the civil, and the criminal laws of the island, embodying them in a code which, I believe, is still known as the Code Decaën.* So salutary were his reforms, so beneficent his administration, that many years later an illustrious† Frenchman referring, in a speech in the Chamber of Peers, to his achievements in the islands, used this remarkable expression: "General Decaën made the people over whom he ruled almost forget even the names of La Bourdonnais and of Duplex."

Such was the man. *Let us now glance at the means at his disposal in 1810. He had with him only 800 French troops of the line,‡ and scattered over the island, from 2 to 5,000 Creole militia. In Port Louis were three frigates, the *Astrée*, the *Vénus*, and *La Manche*: the others, constituting the squadron under Commodore Duperré, had not then returned from their cruise. With these small means to meet a powerful and well-organised attack he must have felt that all the resources, even of his own brave heart, would be abundantly drawn upon.

Before, however, the English had been able to take advantage of their possession of de la Passe, Commodore Duperré returned, bringing with him, besides his own three vessels previously named, two Indiamen, the *Windham* and the *Ceylon*, captured in the Indian waters. As he approached the island on the 20th July, Duperré noticed the Tricolor still flying on the staff of the small fort in the isle de la Passe. With it likewise was a signal advising him that "the enemy was cruising at the Coin de Mire." A three-masted vessel, also flying the Tricolor, was likewise discerned lying at anchor under the walls of the fort. Deceived by these appearances, Duperré signalled to his squadron to make the best of their way to Grand Port, directing the sloop *Victor* to take the lead closely followed by the *Minerve*, each in passing to communicate with the three-masted vessel lying off de la Passe. The *Victor* sailed on without the smallest suspicion, till, as she was doubling

* So highly appreciated were the merits of this code that when the Isle of France was surrendered to the English, it was made an article of the capitulation that it should be continued to be ruled by the Code Decaën. The article ran: "Shall preserve their religion, laws, and customs."

† Gérard Lacuée, Comte de Cessac,

one of the ablest of Napoleon's ministers. He died in 1841, leaving behind him, says M. Chanut "one of the purest and most honourable reputations of our epoch."

‡ He had also enlisted 500 foreign prisoners, mostly Irish; but these could not be depended upon to fight against their own countrymen.

the fort, she received at once broadsides from the strange ship and from the battery on shore; these simultaneously hoisting English colours. The surprise of every one on board the French ships may be conceived. But Duperré was equal to the occasion. Signalling to his ships to keep close to windward, he made his way into the harbour and anchored in a very advantageous position, admitting of constant communication with the shore. In this operation he had, however, the bad fortune to lose one of his prizes, the *Windham*, owing to the indecision displayed by the officer in charge of her.

Notwithstanding the advantageous position taken up by the French commodore, Captain Pym of the *Sirius*, in communication with Captain Willoughby of the *Néréide*, determined to attack him. On the 22nd accordingly both these frigates stood in; but they had scarcely arrived within a mile of the enemy's line when the *Sirius* grounded. The *Néréide* did not care to go on alone. The attempt therefore failed for the moment.

Meanwhile intelligence of the events occurring in the vicinity of Grand Port reached General Decaën. That able officer immediately despatched on board Duperrié's squadron all the available seamen in the island. He ordered also the three frigates in Port Louis, the *Astrée*, *La Manche*, and the *Vénus* to proceed under the senior captain, Hamelin,* to the aid of their sisters threatened in Grand Port.

But before Captain Hamelin could reach the scene of action the two English frigates had been reinforced by the *Iphigenia* and the *Magicienne*. As these approached the shoal on which the *Sirius* had struck the previous afternoon, but from which she had just then extricated herself, that vessel and her consort prepared to weigh anchor. But before deciding to renew his attack Captain Pym assembled on board the *Sirius*, the captains of the three other ships and all the available pilots. The conference resulted in a resolution to proceed at once to the attack, the certain effect of which no one questioned for a moment.

Duperré had expected this attack; and he had prepared to meet it with the skill which marked his long and glorious career. I have said that his ships had easy communication with the shore. All along that shore, below his vessels, he had erected formidable batteries, had armed them with heavy guns, and manned them with those of his sailors who were most skilled in the art of gunnery. His own ships, covered by shoals and by sunken

*Uncle of Admiral Hamelin who commanded the French Black Sea fleet during the Crimean War.

rocks, the navigation amongst which was difficult, had been so placed as to be able to meet with a concentrated fire an advancing enemy. The Indiaman he had taken, the *Ceylon*, had likewise been heavily armed and the command of her entrusted to one of the best officers at his disposal; Duperré had himself seen to every detail; he had that morning inspected every battery, said a cheery word to every officer, spoken to his captains of his plans and his hopes. Having done this he waited, with a serene countenance and a bold heart, the advance of the English.

They came on,—they too, dauntlessly, even jubilantly. But no sooner had they, sailing close together, arrived within range, than the shore batteries opened upon them. The fire was tremendous and effective, but it did not check the onward progress of the British ships. The *Iphigenia*, in accordance with a previously concerted plan, directed her course towards the *Minerve*, and opened on her so terrible a fire within half pistol-shot that she drove her out of the line. The *Magicienne* a little ahead of the *Iphigenia* was about to engage the *Ceylon* when she struck on a hidden rock and lay motionless in the water in such a position that but few of her guns could bear on the enemy. The *Néréide*, close astern of the *Bellone* commanded by Duperré, engaged that vessel on one side whilst Captain Pym in the *Sirius* attacked her on the other. The French sloop, the *Victor*, was meanwhile doing all in her power to aid the *Minerve* by firing at, and engaging the attention of, the *Iphigenia*.

The number of guns, the weight of metal, the inspiration of attack, all were in favour of the English, and Duperré saw that unless he used his brain to aid the physical power of his men his squadron must be destroyed. He put in force then a manœuvre which he had arranged beforehand in concert with his captains. He signalled to them to cut their cables and let their vessels gently strand. The result fully answered his anticipations. As his own vessel, the *Bellone*, glided slowly towards the shore, Captain Pym with all the impetuosity of his nature, turned the *Sirius* in pursuit. Not following, however, the exact line the French commodore had taken, he dashed his vessel on to a shoal; and there she remained fixed, immovable, and powerless.

Having thus rid himself of one enemy, Duperré concentrated all the fire of the *Bellone* on the other, the *Néréide*, which, following the example of the *Sirius*, had likewise drifted on a shoal. Exposed to a most galling fire, the *Néréide* fought until most of her guns were disabled and the greater part of her crew had been killed and wounded. Incapable of protracting the defence she then struck. But in the excitement of the fire and in the blindness of the smoke the hauling down of the Union Jack was not per-

ceived by the enemy, and the French continued their fire for some time longer.*

In the other part of the line, likewise, fortune had inclined to the French. The *Iphigenia*, warned by the fate of her consorts, had warped out of close range. The *Magicienne* on, her rock had been so pounded by the *Ceylon* and the shore batteries that, when morning broke, she could scarcely keep afloat.

The firing continued all night. At 11 P.M. the crew of the *Magicienne* abandoned her. She blew up immediately afterwards. At the early dawn Duperré sent off a boat's crew to take possession of the *Néréide*. The *Iphigenia* then endeavoured for a short time to extricate the *Sirius* from her position, but failing, that vessel too was abandoned and blown up. Of all the squadron that had sailed so proudly and so confidently to the attack on the previous day the *Iphigenia* alone remained!

But she was not destined to escape. Duperré indeed was unable to get off his stranded ships in sufficient time to follow her to the Isle de la Passe. But just at the opportune moment, just as she had been warped to her station off that islet, there arrived off Grand Port the squadron of three frigates which General Decaën had despatched from Port Louis. In the presence of a force so overwhelming Captain Lambert of the *Iphigenia* had no alternative but to yield his vessel and the islet. He tried hard to save the former; but General Decaën had arrived at Grand Port, and he dictated terms of absolute surrender. They were with a pang accepted. The *Iphigenia* and her crew were made over to the French, and the Tricolor once more floated over the little fort of the Isle de la Passe.

Thus ended the first attempt of the English on the Isle of France. If we are bound to admire the pluck, the daring, the determination displayed by our countrymen, we cannot, in candour, refuse an equally appreciative acknowledgment of the combined skill and courage by which Duperré converted an apparently certain defeat into a most decisive victory. Later in his career Duperré accomplished great things. In 1814 he defended the lagunes of Venice against an Austrian army; in 1823, at the head of a French squadron, he compelled the surrender of Cadiz; in 1830, commanding a French fleet, he besieged and took Algiers. But it is probable that whenever, during the time intervening between that last great feat of arms and his death in 1846, he might have been disposed to pass in review the events of his distinguished life, he referred with the greatest satisfaction to the repulse and destruction of an English squadron

* Every man on board the *Néréide* was killed or wounded.—*Asiatic Annual Register*.

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of superior force at Grand Port on the 24th and 25th August 1810!

Flushed with his success, Decaën resolved to resume the offensive. Collecting all the ships at his disposal, now constituting a formidable squadron, he blockaded the island of Bourbon, intercepting with great success the merchantmen which were bringing supplies to it from India. He hoped to starve the English garrison into submission before it could be strengthened by the large reinforcements which, he well knew, were on their way from India. The only English ship remaining in those waters, the *Boadicea*, 38, had, after the re-capture of the Isle de la Passe, taken refuge in the harbour of St. Paul.

Whilst the blockade of Bourbon was still being maintained the British 38 gun frigate *L'Africaine* appeared off St. Denis. (12 September). Captain Rowley instantly brought round the *Boadicea* with the *Otter*,* sloop of war, and the *Staunch*, gun-brig, to join the new arrival. The junction having been effected it was resolved to attempt to drive away the blockading force, consisting of the *Iphigénie** recently captured at Grand Port—and the *Astrée*.*

The French frigates stood at once off to sea, enticing the enemy to follow them. It was soon found that the *Africaine* was a far better sailer than the French frigates and than her own consort, the *Boadicea*, and that in the chase she was rapidly leaving the latter behind. She therefore shortened sail. Before night fell, however, the *Africaine* had come up close to the enemy, and she then endeavoured to maintain this position until day should break, keeping up communication with the *Boadicea* by means of night signals. At 3 o'clock in the morning, however,—the *Boadicea* being then from four to five miles astern of her consort,—a sudden breeze caught the sails of the *Africaine*, and carried her, not without her commander's consent, within less than musket-shot distance on the weather quarter of the *Astrée*. Captain Corbet, who commanded the English frigate, could not resist the temptation, but at once fired into the enemy. The *Astrée* immediately replied. The second broadside from the *Astrée* severely wounded Captain Corbet, but his place was taken by the first lieutenant, and the action was continued for ten minutes with great spirit. By that time the *Iphigénie* had time to come to the aid of her consort. Whilst the *Astrée* continued within pistol-shot on the larboard beam of the English frigate, the *Iphigénie* came close up on her starboard bow and raked her several times.

A contest so unequal could not long continue. Yet one hour elapsed before the gallant crew of the *Africaine* would confess

* The French at once changed the final *a* into *e*.

themselves conquered ; and even then it was not till 163 of their number had been killed and wounded.

But the interlude was not yet over. Commodore Rowley of the *Boudicca* noticed at break of day that the *Africaine* had been captured. He did not at once attempt to disturb her conquerors, but made way towards the *Olter* and *Staunch*. Having joined these he set out with them in pursuit of the enemy. The French frigates were not inclined to risk another engagement with three fresh vessels. The rigging of the *Iphigénie* had been so cut up as to render her difficult of management. She had also fired away nearly all her ammunition. Captain Bonnet of the *Astrée* preferred then the abandonment of his prize to an encounter which could scarcely be successful. Taking, then, the *Iphigénie* in tow, he abandoned the *Africaine*,—which was helpless,—to her former masters, and returned to Port Louis, capturing on his way a sixteen-gun cruiser belonging to the East India Company.

Commodore Rowley and his prize then reached the anchorage at St. Paul. The blockade of Bourbon was at the same time resumed by the French frigate *Vénus*, 44, and the sloop *Victor*. Whilst engaged in this blockade, these vessels sighted the British 32-gun frigate *Ceylon*, having on board General Abercromby, on his way from Madras to Bourbon, to assume the command of the troops destined to act against the Isle of France. They at once set out in pursuit. The *Vénus*, being a better sailer, soon caught up and engaged the British frigate. After a close contest of three-quarters of an hour, in which the *Vénus* lost her mizen-mast, and the *Ceylon* was rendered almost unmanageable, the *Vénus* assumed a position to leeward, and continued firing only at intervals until the *Victor** should come up. This occurred about two hours after the action had begun. The *Victor* then took a raking position athwart the bows of the *Ceylon*, and the latter, then quite helpless, struck her flag.

But there was speedy vengeance in store for the British. The *Boudicca*, accompanied by the *Olter* and *Staunch*, having descried the French frigate with her prize abreast of St. Denis, started off at once in pursuit. The *Victor* vainly endeavoured to take in tow the damaged *Ceylon*, and the latter, cast off, was re-captured. Then came the turn of the *Vénus*. But she had been too much crippled in her fight of the previous night to be able to offer effectual resistance to a fresh and more powerful frigate, and too much damaged in her rigging to escape. Captain

* The *Victor* was no other than had been captured by the English our old friend, the *Revenant*, so and re-named the *Victor*. She was famous under Surcouf. Taken into subsequently re-captured by the the French Navy as the *Jéna*, she French.

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Hamelin, who commanded her, made, however, a hot fight of it, and only struck when further resistance had become impossible.*

The capture of the *Vénus* was the turning point in the scale. Thenceforward the favours of fortune were showered exclusively on the British. Shortly after that event there arrived at St. Denis the frigate *Nisus*, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Bertie, the precursor of a fleet and army on their way from England *via* the Cape of Good Hope, ordered to co-operate with the troops taken from the three presidencies, which had started from India about the same time, to effect the reduction of the Isle of France.

VI.

It was not, however, until the 14th October that Admiral Bertie had been able to refit the ships which he found at St. Paul and St. Denis. But on that date he sailed from the former port at the head of the *Boadicea*, the *Africaine*, the *Ceylon*, the *Nisus*, and the *Néréide*, † to blockade Port Louis. Leaving three of these vessels on that duty, he proceeded on the 19th in company with General Abercromby to Rodriguez, there to meet the troops and ships which, coming respectively from England and India, had appointed that little island to be their rendezvous.

On the 24th Admiral Bertie fell in with the British squadron on its way to the Indian seas, commanded by Rear-Admiral Drury and consisting of seven ships. Two of these, the *Cornelia*, 32, and the *Hesper* sloop, were at once sent to increase the blockading force off Port Louis; two others, the *Clorinde*, 38, and the *Doris*, 36, were detained at Rodriguez; the remainder were sent on to their destination. The admiral arrived at Rodriguez on the 3rd November, and found there the troops which had been sent from Bombay. The division from Madras convoyed by the *Psyche* and *Cornwallis* arrived on the 6th, and that from Bourbon on the 12th November.

* It is gratifying to notice the manner in which Hamelin's gallant service, notwithstanding the loss of his ship, was acknowledged by Napoleon. In a despatch from the Minister of Marine, dated 27th December 1810, I find the following: "His Majesty has remarked with pleasure that you rendered decisive the success which Captain Duperré had obtained between the 23rd and 25th August, and that you subsequently captured the frigate *Ceylon* in a hand-to-hand encounter. Whatever may have been the events which followed, H. M. has not the less appreciated the splendid

defence which you made, notwithstanding that, when disabled by a preceding combat, you were attacked by superior forces. He has deigned, in appreciation of these different actions, which testify to your courage and to your skill, to promote you to the grade of Commander of the Legion of Honour." The following year Hamelin was created a Baron and promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral.

† Formerly the *Vénus*. It will be noticed that three ships of the squadron had been in the possession of the French.

The troops from Bengal and those from the Cape were so long in coming, that the admiral in concert with the general determined not to wait for them beyond the 21st. All preparations accordingly were made for the expedition to leave Rodriguez on the morning of the 22nd, when, on the evening of the previous day, the happy intelligence was received that the Bengal division was in the offing. The transports conveying it were at once ordered not to drop anchor, but to join the main fleet and accompany it to the selected point of debarkation, Grande Baye, about fifteen miles to the windward of Port Louis.

The armament, independently of the division from the Cape of Good Hope, which did not arrive in time to take any part in the operations, consisted of forty-six transports, and a fleet of twenty-one sail.* They carried 11,300 fighting men, composed as follows.—Of regiments of the line there were, the 12th, 14th, 22nd, 33rd, 56th, 59th, 65th, 69th, 84th, and 89th regiments; the artillery consisted of four batteries from Bengal and Madras; the European cavalry of one troop of the 26th dragoons. The native troops from Bengal and Madras consisted of four volunteer battalions, and the Madras pioneers; two thousand sailors and marines were likewise contributed by the fleet. The Europeans were to the natives of the force in the proportion of two to one.

General Decaën had not been unconscious of the coming storm. Aware of his own inability to oppose with success any large hostile force led with ordinary prudence, he had nevertheless exerted himself to the utmost to rouse the energies of the colonists. We have seen that he had at his disposal only 800 French troops of the line, in addition to 500 enlisted prisoners, mostly Irish, upon whom he could not depend. The Creole element has been variously estimated. Extravagant English writers have rated it as high as 10,000; but it probably never exceeded 4,000, and of these it is recorded by the English annalist of the time,† that “they refused on the approach of the British armament to co-operate in the defence of the island.” A few of the slaves were armed, but in a most cursory and inefficient manner.

General Decaën might, indeed, well have despaired. But he allowed no symptoms of any such feeling, even if he entertained it, to appear. No sooner had he received information that the hostile armament had left Rodriguez than he issued a spirited

* These were, the *Illustrious*, 47; the *Cornwallis*, 44; the *Africaine*, the *Boadicea*, the *Nisus*, the *Clorinde*, the *Menelaus*, the *Néréide*, each of 35; the *Phæbe* and *Doris*, of 36; the *Cornelia*, *Psyche*, and *Ceylon*, of 32; the sloops *Hesper*, *Eclipse*, *Hecate*, and *Actæon*; the gun-brig *Staunch*, and four smaller vessels.

† *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1801-11

* proclamation calling upon the colonists to aid the army and navy in the defence of the island, promising them victory, should they respond to his call. He could do no more in that way. Then, massing his troops, he took up a position near Port Louis, whence he would be able to move at once upon any threatened point.

Meanwhile the transports carrying the expeditionary force arrived on the morning of the 29th November before a narrow passage dividing from the mainland a small island called Gunner's Quoin. It had previously been ascertained by careful survey that this passage offered openings through the reefs by which several boats could enter abreast. Here, then, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the fleet came to anchor. The debarkation on the mainland commenced at 1 P.M., and was conducted to a successful result, without the loss of a single man, in three hours,—the small French party which had held Fort Malartic, situated at the head of the bay, retiring on the appearance of the British fleet.

The English army had, previously to its debarkation, been divided into six brigades. The first, under colonel Picton, was composed of the 12th and 22nd regiments, and the right wing of the Madras volunteer battalion; the second, under Colonel Gibbs, comprised the 59th regiment, 300 men of the 89th and 100 of the 87th formed together as one battalion, and the left wing of the Madras volunteer battalion; the third, under Colonel Kelsie, consisted of the 14th regiment and the 2nd Bengal volunteers; the fourth, under Colonel Macleod, was formed of the 69th regiment, 300 marines, and the Madras native flank battalion; the fifth, commanded by Colonel Smith, comprised the 65th regiment, a troop of the 25th dragoons, and the 1st battalion of the Bengal volunteers; whilst the 6th or reserve brigade, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, consisted of a battalion formed of the four flank companies of the 12th and 33rd regiments, of two companies of the 56th, of one of the 14th, and one of the 89th, of the 84th regiment, and of Captain Imlack's detachment of Bombay

* The following is a translation of the text of the proclamation:—

"Inhabitants of the Isle of France. Thirty-four of the enemy's ships are before the island! This number, which may be increased at any moment, leads us to suppose that the English have not relinquished their intention to attack this colony—an intention in which they have been already once baffled by the glorious success of the brave men of the division of Duperré. I do not forget the proofs of zeal and intrepidity

displayed by you both before and after that glorious feat of arms.

"Inhabitants of the Isle of France! In the present conjuncture I would remind you of the enthusiasm with which, on the last anniversary of the fête of the great Napoléon, you renewed your vows of fidelity to your country. You are Frenchmen! Join, then, your valour to the valour of the brave soldiers and marines whom I am about to lead against the enemy, and we shall not fail to be victorious."

troops which had done such good service in the capture of Bourbon.

The debarkation had no sooner been effected, than leaving the 5th brigade to cover the landing place, General Abercomby at 4 o'clock pushed on with the rest of the force through a very thick wood, lying between the coast and the high road leading to Port Louis. The troops forced their way for fully four miles through an all but impenetrable jungle, entangling their feet at every step, and dragging the guns only by the greatest and the most untiring exertion. They had, however, the good fortune to debouch into the more open country without any opposition. Just, however, as they reached that more open plain they came upon the advanced picquet of the enemy. The men of the picquet had not evidently anticipated an attack from that quarter, for they were surprised, and after a faint and irregular fire, they retreated from their position.

Their fire, however, faint and irregular as it was, effected some damage. Two grenadiers were killed and two officers and several men wounded. Some officers and men likewise succumbed to the intense heat and to the fatigue of the march. The French picquet having retired, General Abercomby encamped his force in the open ground in front of the wood. He resumed his march in the morning with the intention of pushing on to Port Louis. But the heat of the day, and the extreme scarcity of water rendered this impossible, and the little army, after marching only five miles, was forced to take up a position for the rest of the day and for the night at Moulin à poudre, on the banks of a small river called Pamplemousses, which thus covered the camp.

To return to General Decaën. This officer had anticipated that the English army would disembark at a point nearer to Port Louis—whence the road to the capital was shorter and easier—and he had taken his measures accordingly. He never could have anticipated that an invader would land his troops on a point where the inland country was covered by an almost impenetrable jungle, defensible by a few determined men against an army. But the moment he received the news brought by the retiring picquet he prepared to meet the new danger,—a danger the greater, as the natural defence had been forced and there were but ten miles between the enemy's camp and the capital. It was not, however, until mid-day of the 30th that he was able to collect a force at all respectable to make head against the enemy. This force, consisting, including the Irish prisoners forced into the service, of 1,300 Europeans and 2 to 3,000 Creoles, he posted in a rather strong position, about two miles in front of the capital. He drew up his men on a level ground over which the high road passed, the guns in the centre on either side of the road,

concealed by brushwood, and both flanks covered by a thick wood impenetrable on the right and capable of a strong defence on the left. Having so disposed his small force, he galloped forward followed by his staff, by a few Creole cavalry and some riflemen, to reconnoitre the English position.

The English had been about two hours in their encampment at Moulin à poudre when General Decaën rode up. Approaching rather too closely a smart skirmish ensued, in the course of which the French general received a contusion on his leg. What he saw there, however, was worse than any contusion. He counted a force exceeding his own in the proportion of ten to one, and ready the next morning to cover the five miles which still intervened between it and the capital.

Decaën must have felt as he rode back to his men that, according to the probabilities, further resistance would but cause a useless expenditure of blood. He determined nevertheless to make one effort for victory. On his return to camp he despatched 300 men with two guns to occupy a position commanding the bridge over the Tambeau, about half a mile in front of his camp. Could he but keep the invaders there for a short time he might yet raise a force to operate on their communications.

But it was not to be. Early the following morning, before daylight, General Abercromby detached the fourth brigade to seize the batteries at the Tambeau and Tortue bays, whence it had been arranged that the army was to receive its supplies. The main body of the force under the personal command of the general, commenced its movement on Port Louis shortly afterwards. After marching about two miles it came within sight of the bridge over the Tambeau. As it was seen to be defended, the advanced column was halted, whilst the guns opened with shrapnell on the enemy. The fire was so well directed that the French retired precipitately, leaving uncompleted the destruction, begun and partly executed, of the bridge. They fell back on their main body.

The injury done to the bridge had been so far effectual that the guns of the British were unable to cross it. They had to seek a passage lower down, at a ford commanded by the French artillery. The passage was attended with difficulty and some loss, but was nevertheless accomplished. The British force then moved on the position occupied by the French and flanked by thick wood already described.

General Decaën had witnessed, not unmoved, the passage of the Tambeau. He knew that he was now left with but one card in his hand. He played it boldly. Carefully reserving his fire till the heads of the hostile columns should advance within range, he then opened upon them a concentrated and continuous discharge.

This fire coming from guns which had been masked checked the advance for a few moments. But it was only that the British troops might deploy. For them there was nothing for, it but the bayonet. The advance guard, led by Colonel Campbell of the 33rd, under the general direction of General Ward, having quickly formed, dashed straight on. Nothing could stop their splendid charge. The enemy's troops, after a gallant struggle, in which many of them were killed, were forced back from their position, leaving their guns in the hands of the conquerors. These, however, did not gain a bloodless triumph. Besides several privates, Colonel Campbell, 33rd, and Major O'Keefe, 12th, were killed. Whilst this was going on in the centre an attempt which had been made on the left flank of the French had proved not less successful. After a gallant resistance the enemy's position was forced, and all his guns were taken.*

The French force retired across the river Lataniers within the outworks of Port Louis. The English took up a position for the night just beyond cannon-shot of the enemy's lines.

But it was all over. The English fleet commanded the harbour, and the fortifications could not be defended by the small force at the disposal of the Captain-General. Reconnoitering the following morning, General Decaën observed preparations in the enemy's camp, betokening an intention to make a general attack upon the town. Such an attack would, he knew, not only be irresistible, but it would entail upon the inhabitants great calamities. In their interests, then, and in the interests of humanity, having done all that was possible for France, and exhausted every available resource, General Decaën resolved to capitulate. He sent an officer, bearing a flag of truce, with a proposal to this effect to the British camp.

He was just in time. General Abercromby was on the point of despatching a force to the southern side of the town, so that the assault might be combined and general. The proposal for a capitulation alone stopped the movement. The General agreed to it, though demurring to the terms proposed. But these were soon arranged. The Isle of France with all the ships in her harbours, all the arms in her arsenals, all the stores in her magazines, was transferred bodily to England. One point was insisted on by General Decaën, and, from motives of policy, accorded by the English commander. This was that the French troops should

* In this action the French lost 29th November, is as follows : killed about 100 men, killed and wounded. 28 ; wounded, 89 ; missings 45. Total The return of the English for this 162. Besides these one sailor was engagement, and for the slight encounter in front of the wood on the killed and five were wounded.

not be considered as prisoners of war, but should be permitted to return to France at the cost of the British Government with their arms and baggage. *

Thus did the French lose, after an occupation of nearly a hundred years, the beautiful island upon which had been bestowed the name of their own bright land, and which in climate, in refinement of luxury, in the love of adventure of its children, had been, in very deed, the France of the East. In the long struggle with England which had followed the Revolution, the Isle of France had inflicted upon the English trade a "damage which might be computed by millions," whilst she herself had remained uninjured—for eighteen years indeed unthreatened. She had proved herself to be that which the great Emperor had declared that Cherbourg should become,—“an eye to see and an arm to strike.” Protected for long, partly by the storms of the ocean, partly by the daring spirit of her children, partly by the timid councils of the British Government, she had been, for the privateers who preyed upon the commercial marine of the East India Company, at once a harbour of refuge and a secure base of operation. She had been the terror of British merchants, the spectre which haunted the counting house, the one black spot in the clear blue of the Indian Ocean. The relief which was felt by the merchants of Calcutta was expressed in an address presented by them to Lord Minto, in which they offered their “sincere congratulations on the capture of the only remaining French colony in the East, which has for so many years past been the source of devastation to the commerce of India, to a magnitude almost exceeding belief.” †

* I think it right and fair to give General Abercromby's own reasons for agreeing to the demand of General Decaën in this particular. In his report to Lord Minto he says: “I was prevailed upon to acquiesce in this indulgence being granted to the enemy, from the desire of sparing the lives of many brave officers and soldiers, and out of regard to the interests of the inhabitants of the island, who have long laboured under the most degrading misery and oppression, added to the late period of the season when every hour became valuable. I considered these to be motives of much more national importance than any injury which would arise from a small body of troops, at so remote a distance from Europe, being permitted to return to their own country free from any

engagement.” It will be seen that General Abercromby avows that he was influenced solely by considerations of general policy. His statement regarding the misery and oppression of the islanders, of which he had no personal knowledge, may be dismissed as gratuitous.

† It may interest many of those now residing in Calcutta to read the names of the merchants who signed this address. They were—Alexander Colvin, John Palmer, J. D. Alexander, J. H. Fergusson, Robert Downie, James Mactaggart, Joseph Barreto, John Robertson, James Scott, Johannes Sarkies and William Hollings. The object of the address was to ask Lord Minto to sit for his portrait in commemoration of the capture of the isle.

The ease with which the Isle of France was captured in 1810 suggests the question why she was so long allowed to pursue her aggressive career? An investigation of the cause of this apathy on the part of the British, when so many interests were at stake, can only tend to confirm the conviction of the prescience and wisdom of Marquess Wellesley; to show very clearly the unsoundness of the timid policy by which he was so often overruled. The great Marquess not only urged an expedition in 1800; he fitted one out in 1801. This was diverted to Egypt. Shortly afterwards the Court of Directors, dreading the genius which would, if unfettered, have advanced the civilisation of India by twenty years, replaced him by a Governor-General who began by undoing the large work of unification which his predecessor had initiated. When Lord Cornwallis died, the Court of Directors, after vainly endeavouring to confer the Governor-Generalship on a narrow-minded reactionist—who, in the short term of his acting incumbency, confirmed and extended a system which left the states of Rajpútáná a prey to Márhátá free-booters,—imposed a policy upon Lord Minto which restricted his power for that kind of aggressive warfare which is so often the best and surest defence. It is a high testimony to Lord Minto's intellect that in the end he burst those trammels, and forced one portion, at least, of the policy of Marquess Wellesley on a peace-loving Court of Directors and a distrusting ministry.

It is Lord Minto then who, taking up the dropped thread of the policy of Marquess Wellesley, wrested the Isle of France from her parent country. For France indeed, even her name, the name she had borne for about a hundred years, perished on that 3rd December 1810. Called by her discoverers, the Portuguese, Cerné, re-named in 1598 by the Dutch after their Maurice of Nassau, Mauritius; falling, after her abandonment by the Dutch between 1703 and 1710, into the possession of the French, the island had been subsequently known to the world by the name she bore when the English captured her. But the name did not suit the new conqueror. It was erased, and that bestowed in honour of the great Stadtholder was substituted. The Isle of France vanished from history with the last month of the year 1810!

With her conquest, too, ended the careers of the privateers on the Indian seas. They, too, vanished with the island which had nurtured them. Thenceforward the huge Indiamen of the Company could sail in comparative safety. In the course of a few years not only did the dread of the French cruisers vanish, but their exploits came to be listened to with a smile. Not the less, however, are the deeds which they did accomplish worthy of being recorded. They show that if, in a future war, privateering

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should again be legitimized, it may be possible for a nation whose navy shall have been annihilated and whose ports shall be blockaded, to inflict, by means of it, on a nation which may even bear the title of the mistress of the seas, losses the full extent of which it would be almost impossible to estimate.

G. B. MALLESON.

ART. II—THE DĪWÂN-I-HÂFIZ.*

EARLY in the fourteenth century, or just about the time when the 'morning-star of English song' was rising on the horizon in our own country, and the 'Canterbury Tales' were soon to yield a foretaste of what Shakespeare himself was one day to achieve, Muhammad Shams-ud-dîn Hâfiz, a poet of an order essentially his own, was born at Shirâz, then the capital of Persia. If an epithet so pregnant with the associations and redolent of the genius of ancient Greece can be held to possess much applicability or significance in a land so wholly dissimilar as Persia, then perhaps Hâfiz may correctly be described as a lyrical poet. Many of the pieces which form his Dîwân as it is called, or complete poetical series, though perhaps odes in point of style and metre, are, from their subjects, as little adapted to be set to any description of secular music as Wordsworth's 'Excursion,' or 'the Divine Comedy' itself. Other poems which occur in the same series are, however, true love songs, or *ghazals*; and, to the scandal of devout Musalmans, these are freely sung by professional musicians and others to the sound of the *rubbâb* or Persian lyre. From one point of view, no doubt Hâfiz was to Persia what Anacreon and Horace were to Greece and Rome, Petrarch to Italy, and Burns to Scotland: indeed it would be easy to collect passages from Horace, Hâfiz, and Burns which more or less correspond with one another in meaning, if not always in form of expression. But so interwoven are the effusions of the Persian with veins of metaphysical thought, tender views of a near yet unsearchable God, and flights through the dim empyrean of mysticism, that, as in the case of our own Shelley and others, it has sometimes been asserted that his true place is

* In addition to a recent English translation of the 'Dîwân-i-Hâfiz,' which the writer of the present article has unfortunately not yet had an opportunity of seeing, the following may be referred to in connection with the poetry of Hâfiz:

The Works of Sir W. Jones, *passim*: especially, essay on the "Mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus," contained in vol. iv.

Taylor's *History of Muhammadan-*

Persian Literature (by Mr. Cowell) in the Oxford Essays for 1: 55.

Observations on the Musalmans of India: by MRS. Mir Hasan Ali, vol. ii. *Calcutta Review*, vol. 26, Article. "Hâfiz:" also vol. 103, Article, "Persian Poetry with some translations from Hâfiz."

See also numerous English versions of Hâfiz's odes by Sir W. Jones, and others, in a work called *The Flowers of Persian Literature*: by S. Rousscau, published in 1801.

among the Platos and Coleridges, rather than among the poets properly so-called of ancient and modern times.

Hâfiz' countrymen seem to have regarded him with very mixed feelings, and in several different lights. During his lifetime his poems were viewed by doubtless a numerous class much as those of Burns' were throughout the West of Scotland at the time of their first appearance. That is, he was condemned as a scoffer, who would set at naught some of the most time-honoured prohibitions of the Muhammadan scriptures; substitute the functions of conscience for those commonly supposed to pertain to the ministers of religion; and generally unsettle men's faith in much of what others were determined that they should accept as the Commandment of God. Purity of heart was at the same time inculcated in his writings so much more earnestly than soundness of doctrine or 'straitness' of practice, that the orthodox fathers of the day became both alarmed and offended. And when at last the new teacher died, the fine old persecuting spirit, which unhappily is not even yet absolutely extinct, gave rise to a keen controversy as to whether he should be buried like a Musalman, or merely put out of sight, like a dog or a heretic. This question, it was at last agreed, should be settled in the sense of whatever stanza might meet the eye on Hâfiz' own Diwân being opened at random; and when that was done, the following passage is said to have turned up:—

Kadam darîgh madâr az janâzah Hâfiz:
Agarehû ghark-i-gunâh est mirawad bah bilisht,

or, in other words:

Why grudge your steps to Hâfiz' funeral train !
Though sunk in sin, his way to bliss is plain.

Nothing could have been more to the point than that; and the 'Scribes and Pharisees' of Shirâz—to use a Persian figure—must have 'bitten the finger of rage with the teeth of humiliation' when they saw Hâfiz' remains laid in a beautiful tomb of white marble, with two of his own odes engraved upon it by way of epitaph. To this day the garden which contains the poet's tomb is to pilgrims from many lands what the sepulchre on the banks of the Nith is to the admirers of Burns. And yet, if there be any truth in the story referred to above, then it deserves to be noted that he who more than all its kings and nobles has proved the glory of his native Persia, obtained the privilege of being laid in a decent grave because of the direction

given by the blindest chance to an experiment suggested by the sheerest superstition.

The attempt to include Hâfiz among the excommunicated having thus failed, it became necessary for the satisfaction of all true believers somehow to reconcile the character and tendencies of his poetry with the odour of sanctity of which it had not been found possible to deprive him. Doubtless some of his verses must have proved sad stumbling-blocks in the way of all who undertook this charitable task. Thus, no amount of exegetical skill, or reference to distant contexts, could serve to saddle, for example, the following ode, with any other drift than this, namely, that so long as a man was 'fully persuaded in his own mind,' and kept his heart and conscience in a sound state, there was "a time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance;" and that many things which were generally called sinful, might nevertheless be indulged in with perfect safety and propriety. Thus wrote the poet:—

The Fast is over; and the Carnival come; and hearts are expanded;
The wine in the cellar is sparkling with ripeness; time it is 'twere sent for.

The heavy-hearted Pharisees (lit. piety-mongers) have had their innings;
Now may the lovers of pleasure rejoice and make merry.*

What blame to him who, like us, drinks wine! !
No fault is this, or error, in the eyes of the blithesome gallant.

* Thus also another Sûfi poet, the celebrated Umr-i-Khayyâm, even more pointedly:

"The Carnival has come, and all things will be bright,
As the face of a bridegroom,

The butler will make the red wine sparkle in the glass,
• Like the eye of a game cock"

The halter of formalities, and the muzzle of fasting;
Yet once again

Will the Fenst remove from the heads of these donkeys;
Alas! alas!

In another passage, the same poet, with a blade trenchant as G'ulfakâr, the celebrated sword of Ali (the Excalibur of Arabian mythology) thus draws from the commonly received Muhammadan conception of Heaven a fair enough argument in defence of certain earthly pleasures:

They tell us of a Heavenly garden,
Where the clear wine will sparkle, and dark-eyed damsels smile,

With joys like those hereafter,
Why not wine and woman now?

A drinker of wine in whom there is no guile
Is surely better than a Pharisee brimful of deceit and dissimulation

No practisers are we of hypocrisy or duplicity—
He to whom all secrets are known is our Witness to that.

We break not God's Commandments ; neither wrong we any man ;
'Tis only this, that what they say is *not* permitted, we say is permitted.

What matters it, my friend, if you and I drink a few cups of wine—
'Tis but the blood of the grape, and not the blood of you or me.

No fault is this from which harm can follow ;
Or if fault it be, what then—where is the man who is faultless ?

The down on thy lip and the black mole on thy face make Hafiz' head go
round and round with love,
Like the compass : but the point of his heart is planted firmly in the right
place.

. The simile contained in the last couplet of the above, while affording a good, if perhaps only too favourable, specimen of the 'conceits' which abound in Persian poetry, unfolds at the same time one of the characteristics of Hâfiz' school of morals. Thus, one leg of a pair of compasses expatiates over the periphery of the circle ; while the point of the other remains fixed in the pivot-spot in the centre. And so, it is contended, may one be to all outward appearance engrossed with this world's pleasures, writing, for example, a sonnet to his mistress' eyebrow to-day, and entering a 'Holy Friar,' or an 'Apology,' for the Derby or Great St Leger to-morrow, while yet the hidden man of the heart remains firmly moored all the time in some safe spiritual anchorage. But without dwelling at present on this particular feature of Hâfiz' philosophical system, it is evident that nothing could well be more heretical, from a Muhammadan point of view that is to say, than the whole sense or purport of the ode translated above. Thus, one expounder after another of the law, and the prophets of Islamism has declared wine, not without much truth, to be the very *Umm-ul-Khubûs*, that is, Mother of evils. Hâfiz, on the contrary, proclaims that if the drinking of it be a fault at all, it is a very trifling one. Nay more, and far worse, by saying that in partaking of this forbidden thing, he and those who thought with him, 'broke none of the commandments of God,' he impugned, if not the divine origin of the Kurân itself, certainly the divine authority of the generally received interpretations of it. The wonder indeed is, not that a decent burial was begrudged to his remains, but rather that he was allowed to live out his days at

all. Many a good Christian, for example Calvin, has sent 'a beloved brother' to the stake, or built him up alive in a stone wall, for a smaller matter.

The Shîrâzîs, however, having once fairly been shut up to the necessity of accepting Hâfiz, and making the most of him that was possible in the circumstances, seem to have done so with all their heart. For example, the objectionable ode translated above was often omitted altogether when his works were being transcribed. In a beautiful copy now before us, written at Shîrâz about three hundred and fifty years ago, no trace of the above poem is to be found; while in very many of the printed editions of the poet's works, by means of an ingenious, but to our thinking wholly inadmissible, shifting of a diacritical point from above to below the consonant to which it belongs, the word rendered by us 'we break not' has been transmuted into a confession that 'we do break' God's law in acting, that is, as if the use of wine had not been prohibited. Obviously, however, Hâfiz' heterodoxy, if such it was really to be considered, was far too deeply rooted in his writings to be eliminated by any such partial expedients as the suppression, even had that been possible, of a few of his odes, or the toning down of one or two specially undesirable statements or expressions. And since toleration, and even admiration, had been accorded to him, the only way out of the difficulty was to identify him with a certain class of sages and religious teachers known throughout the East as *Sûfis*; (*σοφισ*);* whose privilege it was to discourse in parables or allegories; to say one thing, and mean another; and to urge men towards their own peculiar conception of a religious life in language such as sounded in the ears of the uninitiated as calculated and intended to turn their footsteps in precisely the opposite direction.

In the form presented by it in Hâfiz' age and country, Sûfism, or the profession of the Sûfi, may perhaps be best described as an ascetical and more or less cynical development of rationalistic deism, or pantheism—a kind of natural and wholly esoteric religion, having its abode neither in scriptures nor in temples, but in the heart and conscience of every human being who by means of seclusion and meditation can attain to communion with his Creator. Fruitful hotbed of delusion as Sûfism has inevitably proved, it should not be forgotten that the selfsame system, in its older, and, to us at least, better-known guise of Vedantism, represented per-

* Taylor would derive *Sûfi* from *Sof*; which he says signifies a "coarse woollen dress worn by devotees." In Arabic dictionaries, however, the word *Sof* itself is recognised as Greek, and interpreted as meaning *wisdom*;

so that, in all probability, if the dress of the *Sûfis* be known as a *Sof*, the garb has taken its name from the wearers, not, as supposed by Taylor, the wearers, *i. e.*, the *Sûfis*, from their garb.

haps the very earliest conception that ever dawned on the unaided human reason of the absolute oneness or unity of God; having formed in its original stage neither more nor less than a protest on the part of some of the greatest thinkers of antiquity—Plato, for instance, among the number—against the polytheistic beliefs which prevailed around them, the first cleft, as it were, in the murky sky of ancient heathendom, or false dawn which preceded the true advent of morning. Not satisfied with declaring merely the unity of God, the Vedantists, and with them the Sûfis, assign to the one object of their worship the most purely abstract qualities and attributes. Thus, the god of the Sûfis, instead of being clothed, like the mythical magnates of Mount Olympus, in a whole panoply of purely human characteristics, is represented of en in striking and sublime language, as an absolutely abstract entity; filling his own eternity, but caring for nothing, exercising no functions, and wholly absorbed in his own incomprehensible, uncreated, and unchangeable existence.

Views resembling those so exquisitely illustrated in the Phædo of the great Athenian, touching the intimate union between the soul of man and the divine essence, form a further and integral portion of the same system; and the Sûfi holds that the human soul, being not merely *from* God, but *of* God, and being in its own nature perfectible, can attain even in this life reunion with the Creator, by means of earnest contemplation; the avoidance of all earthly ties or affections; and the habitual cherishing of devotional thought and desire. Absolute negation being the alpha and the omega of this strange idealism, faith, good works, and virtue of every kind are all set on one side; and are regarded indeed as hindrances rather than helps in the path (*tarîkat*) of rapt adoration. Starting indeed from the ordinary level of sober-minded humanity, where obedience to the precepts of the Kurân is admitted to be obligatory, the devotee (*salik*) rises by regularly defined gradations (*munzillat*), first to the stage of Sûfism, where he becomes an '*azâd âlmî*,' that is, one raised above the need of all religious forms or ordinances; whence, with the aid of inspiration, or the divine afflatus working within him, he grows first of all lost to sense, and dead to this transitory world; ultimately reaching the fourth or highest stage; 'when he is recognised as '*Wâsîl b' Illâh*,' or one entirely absorbed into the divine essence. That down-right madness should often be the result, if not perhaps rather the precursor, of entering on a religious profession like that now described is hardly to be wondered at, seeing that something of the same kind has been witnessed even in the less ardent latitudes of our own country, from the days of Mucklewrath down to those of others who need not be named. Indeed, Hâfiz' own uncle

the thoroughly practical *Sâdi*, whose '*Bûstân*,'* it should however be observed, is itself surcharged with Sûfism, is said to have on one occasion uttered a prophecy that his nephew's poetry would bring the curse of insanity on its readers. One of the most striking peculiarities of Sûfi writers is a certain highly figurative style of language which is employed by them in referring to the various features and phases of the religious life. Specimens of the same fervent and imaginative form of expression are familiar to us all in the prophecies of Isaiah, and still more remarkable in the Song of Solomon; and some of our most orthodox English divines, Isaac Barrow for example, who, however, had studied both at Smyrna and Constantinople, have described in scarcely less highly coloured language than that of Sûfism itself, the rapturous sensations which the soul is capable of experiencing under "*the sweetest influences and most consoling embraces*" of its

* The following beautiful translation, by Sir W. Jones, of a passage in the third Book of the *Bûstân* of Shaikh Maslih-ud-dîn Sâdi, the great poet and moralist of Persia, throws a certain amount of light on Sûfism in its more moderate form:

"The love of a being composed like thyself of water and clay destroys thy patience and peace of mind; it excites thee in thy waking hours with minute beauties; and engages thee in thy sleep with vain imaginations. With such real affection dost thou lay thy head at her feet, that the universe, in comparison with her, vanishes into nothing before thee; and since thy gold allures not her eye, gold and mere earth appear equal in thine. Not a breath dost thou utter to any one else; for, with her, thou hast no room for any other. Thou declarest that her abode is in thine eye; or, when thou closest it, in thy heart. Thou hast no fear of censure from any man; thou hast no power to be at rest for a moment; if she demands thy soul, it runs instantly to thy lips. Since an absurd love, with its basis on air, affects thee so violently, and commands thee with a sway so despotic, canst thou wonder that they who walk in the true path are drowned in the sea of mysterious adoration? They disregard life through affection for its giver; they abandon the world, through remem-

brance of its maker; they are inebriated with the melody of their amorous plaints; they remember their beloved and resign to him both this life and the next.* Through remembrance of God, they shun all mankind; they are so enamoured of the cup-bearer, that they spill the wine from the cup. No panacea can heal them; for no mortal can be apprized of their malady; so loudly has rung in their ears, from eternity without beginning, the divine query, addressed to myriads of assembled souls, '*art thou of God?*' with the tumultuous reply, "*we are.*" They are a sect fully employed, but sitting in retirement; their feet are of earth, but their breath is a flame; * * * like stone, they are silent, yet repeat God's praises. At early dawn, their tears flow so copiously as to wash from their eyes the black powder of sleep. * * * So enraptured are they with the beauty of Him who decorated the human form, that with the beauty of the form itself they have no concern."

Such is the strange language of the Sûfis. Like a reed torn from its native grove, and made into a flute, the soul of the Sûfi is supposed to be ever bewailing its severance from the divine essence; ever panting and flickering in expectation of its extinction, or disengagement from earthly bonds, so that it may be finally reunited with its only beloved.

Creator. By 'classing Hâfiz with the Sûfis, the scandal which his amorous and Bacchanalian verses, if understood in a literal sense, were apt to occasion was of course got over; for the love of which he sang then admitted of being understood as referring to no mere worldly passion, but to the soul's earnest paunting after union with God: 'wine' being similarly interpreted as the type of devotion, or religious ardour; the 'cup-bearer,' of the divine spirit; the 'tavern,' of the devotee's cell; and inebriation, or libertinism itself, of that exalted point in the religious life at which the soul, having become reunited with God, is thought to have cast away all the trammels of mortality. Whether Hâfiz really was a Sûfi, or only infused into his poetry as much Sûfism as would serve to secure for him the toleration of his countrymen; or again, whether he was merely as other men are at the time of composing certain of his odes, and a sincere convert to Sûfism at the time of composing certain others, are points which it is hard to clear up; the difficulty being increased by the circumstance of his effusions not being arranged in the order in which they were written, but after a certain alphabetical sequence peculiar, so far as we are aware, to the poetry of the Persians. At one time of his life at least he can have been no ascetic. Several of his finest songs contain unmistakable allusions to various fair ones of Shîrâz; one of whom, a certain 'Shâkh-i-nabât,' or 'stalk of sugar-cane,' whose 'sweetly-pretty' name tradition has chanced to preserve to us, evidently occupied towards the poet the same relation that Citera and others did to Horace. And in any case, the Sûfism of the *Diwân-i-Hâfiz* whether genuine or merely artistic, is to the high-flown mysticism of such works, as for example, the *Masnawî* of *Mawlânâ Jâldâl-ud-Dîn Rûmî*, very much what the moderate views of English divines of the Parson Trulliber school may be said to be, when compared with the glowing and enthusiastic piety of a Wilberforce or a Simeon. If, as may have been the case, Hâfiz' Sûfism was more assumed than real, then he certainly showed his wisdom in tincturing his poetry with only just so much of it as would serve his immediate purpose; seeing that Sûfism, if the truth be stated, is, or ought to be, as repugnant as latitudinarianism, or even as libertinism itself, to every true follower of the Arabian prophet. The national poetry of Persia, indeed, has always been pervaded by a vein of mysticism; and the Muhammadan conquerors of the country no doubt suffered a certain portion of the same spirit to transfuse itself into their own harder and purer faith. And yet Sûfism is as far removed as polytheism itself from the true genius of Islam. The Kurân is wholly free from it. And orthodox Muhammadan parents of the present day see perhaps in the Sûfism of the *Diwân-i-Hâfiz*

even a stronger reason than in its 'Broad-churchism' for not generally including it among their children's lesson-books. And yet if there be books which are praised by all, and read by none, the *Diwân-i-Hâfiz* may be cited as at least one book which even they who feel bound to censure it, do so as if they loved it in their hearts; and which in point of fact is read and valued alike by orthodox and heterodox, saint and sinner, wherever the name of Muhammad himself is known *Mullas* and *Mujtahids*, when the horse-shoe of their hearts waxes warm on the anvil of theological disputation, ply one another with whole staves of it; and gray-bearded statesmen love to apply its precepts, or even its allegories, to the conduct of real affairs.* Owing perhaps to the happy solution yielded by its pages, as described above, to the question about Hâfiz' own obsequies, the book is still regarded as the one of all others from which to draw an augury. Though Hindu astrologers are, as a matter of fact, freely consulted in this way even by educated Musalmans, yet such references are looked on by those who make them somewhat in the same dubious light as were the trafficings of the Jewish king with the witch of Endor. But no one feels the slightest sense of impropriety in seeking for an omen, or '*fi'al*' as it is termed, by means of a random glance at Hâfiz. Naturally this custom is specially prevalent among the so-called weaker sex; and the mistress of a Muhammadan household never has any doubt in her own mind, or suffers her husband, poor man, to have any doubt about it either, that a certain *jatika*, or religious picnic, to the tomb of her favourite saint will come off exactly as she has arranged it, provided an omen has been drawn on the subject from *Khvâja* Hâfiz, and has proved favourable.† To account

* Thus as recently as Sir J. Malcolm's days, a noted frontier robber, having been seized and sentenced to death, sent in a petition to the Viceroy or Governor of the province, setting forth his own merits, and praying not only for his life, but to be taken into favour. His Excellency's answer, endorsed with his own hand on the back of the petition, consisted merely of the following couplet from Hâfiz:—

Hâifast tàirî chûn tû dar in khâk-dân i dahr :
Zin jâ, bah ashîân-i-wafâ mî firistânat ;

that is ;

Pity, to see a bird like thee should linger in this dust-hole of a world,
Out of such a place to perfection's nest I am sending thee.

† Venerated books have been put to similar uses in Christian as well as Muhammadan countries. Thus for example, Effie Deans, in the "Heart of Mid Lothian" when her sister, the immortal Jeanie, comes to visit her in her cell in the Tolbooth, is made to address her as follows:—"Na, na, Jeanie, a' was ower when once I forgot what I promised when I folded down the leaf of my Bible." "Sec," she said.

for the remarkable popularity thus enjoyed by Hâfiz is not perhaps very easy. Neither the purity and almost feminine softness of his diction, nor the sublimity of the regions sometimes traversed by his muse, furnishes of itself an adequate explanation. But it may be well to note in passing that his writings are nowhere marred by any of those vulgar excrescences, or 'broad allusions' from which the author of the *Gulistan*, for example, is not altogether free. In some of his odes indeed, the colouring is laid on with a warmth and boldness, coupled with a verisimilitude and individuality of outline, reminding one of the pictures of Rembrandt; but the limits of propriety are nowhere over-stepped. Still less can any of his sentiments be described, whether by his own co-religionists or others, as in the slightest degree profane, or bordering on the impious. On the contrary indeed the spirit of humility and child-like reverence with which he invariably alludes to things passing the human understanding forms one of the characteristic features of his writings. To a certain extent the admiration bestowed on his poetry by even strict and comparatively orthodox Musalmans must be taken as indicative of the very general diffusion of Sûfism, or at all events of a strong sympathy with its tenets and their professors, throughout Turkey, Persia, and Hindustan, notwithstanding its antagonism to the teaching of Muhammad. Human nature is stronger than even the strongest religious systems. And so inborn in at all events the Asiatic mind does a belief in, and reverence for, saints, darweshes, and ascetics seem to be, that the most enlightened are as incapable as the most ignorant of shaking themselves free from superstitions of this particular description. But leaving Sûfism out of the question altogether, we can imagine at least two distinct states of mind in which Hâfiz' poems would be turned to with delight by his countrymen; the first when youth had filled the sails, and doubts arisen whether all the pleasant things with which this world teems are really forbidden: the second, when the soul, wearied with its aspirations after truth, had begun to exclaim that no truth is to be found, that life is but a vain show and an illusion, and the mystery of existence a problem lying beyond the grasp of the human understanding. Just such a sense of the insufficiency of our own powers it would appear to be that urges some among ourselves to seek refuge in the Church of Rome; whose theory of infallibility is doubtless calculated to allay all mental throes and struggles, even as opium puts an end to the pains and toils of

producing the sacred volume, "the book opens aye at the place of itself. O, see, Jeanie, what a fearful scripture." Jeanie took her sister's Bible, and found that the fatal mark was

made at this impressive text in the Book of Job: "He hath stripped me of my glory; and taken the crown from my head," &c., &c., &c.

the body. Hâfiz, on the other hand, feeling himself but a sinner, knowing of nothing at all resembling infallibility, and having only the poor lamp of human reason to guide him, simply called upon his disciples not to expose themselves to the buffetings of a sea without a shore; to abandon the search after truth altogether; to rest satisfied, like John Stuart Mill, with knowing that there is nothing man can ever know; to enjoy the present; and leave the undiscoverable conditions of futurity unexplored. For Descartes and others, doubt has formed at once the starting-point in the pursuit of truth, and an instrument towards its attainment. But Hâfiz and his school have made doubt itself their final end or resting-place; and rejecting all the interpretations offered by others of the great problems of human life, have refused even to attempt arriving at new interpretations of their own.

The following couplet, taken from one of Hâfiz' best-known odes, and evidently written during his own first youth, may serve to illustrate the *former* of the two phases just described as belonging to his poetry:—

Hâfiz chih shud, ar'aashik, o rind ast, o nâzar bâz :
Bas taur i ajab lazim i aiyâm i shabâb ast :

Which may be rendered thus :

What the worse is Hâfiz, if he be a lover, a gallant, and a stealer of
sly glances;
Many a playful way beseems the spring-time of life.

Similarly in the following, a hint equally broad and reassuring is thrown out that they who partake freely of the cup of this world's pleasures may not after all be such transgressors as some of those who condemn them:—

Hâfizâ, mai khûr, o rindî kuh, o khûsh bâsh : Wall.
Dâm-i-tazvir makun, chûn digarân, Kurân râ :

Which means,—

Drink wine, O Hâfiz, and indulge in pleasure; and let thy heart
be glad within thee : But—
Make not withal of the Kurân a cloak of hypocrisy, after the
manner of others.

The following again are specimens of verses in which the utility of metaphysical speculation is inculcated:—

Speak to me of the minstrel, and of wine : and puzzle not about
the secret of eternity :
For it is past the power of human wisdom to solve this enigma.

Or, again, what more absolute statement of pure and dreary negation could be set before us than the following :—

Perplex not your brain about what is, and what is not, but
be easy :
For non-existence is the end of every excellence that exists.

Or, yet once again :

Let not (intellect's) feathery pinion carry you out of the path,
for the arrow from the bow
Sped for a space through the heavens, and then buried itself in
the earth.

Reserving to the last the few remarks which we feel competent to offer touching Hâfiz as a poet, in the more commonly received acceptation of that term, the following complete versions of three of his philosophical or didactic odes are here presented to the reader. Our renderings do not profess to be strictly literal. Very possibly, they may not in every instance even convey, as we hope they do, the exact meaning of the original; more especially as there has been no opportunity of submitting them to competent revision. We need hardly say therefore that we shall feel indebted to any of our readers who may be able and willing to point out any inaccuracies which may have occurred :

Now that the wine-cup is sparkling in the rose's hand,
And the nightingale is singing her praises with her hundred thousand tongues,

Send thou for a bundle of poems, and off with thee to the country :
What season this for the academy, and the disputations and lectures of the philosopher !

Last night, the professor of theology himself was in his cups :
and thus laid down the law,
Wine may be forbidden : yet better drink wine than consume the endowments of religion.

Not thine to say of this, it is dregs ; or of that, it is pure wine.
be thou silent,
And receive as the highest of favours whatever is poured out by the cup-bearer.

Separate thyself from mankind : and learn a lesson from the unseen bird of fable ;
For the fume of the recluse circles round and round the world.

Your faith and mine, my friends, is to the traditions of those who
cavil at us,
What the fine filagree of the goldsmith is to the coarse handiwork
of the mat-weaver.

Be silent, O Hâfiz ; and these precepts rare as the red gold
Guard thou jealously : for the city Mint Master is himself a maker
of counterfeit coin.

The ode or poem of which the above is offered as a translation has at least the merit of illustrating several features of its author's style. Its first couplet, as will be seen, is the only passage containing any direct reference to natural objects. In our own country, where savage wild beasts are unknown, and robbers are rarely encountered, only pleasurable sensations are excited in the mind whether by actual contact with nature in her sterner moods, or by such pictures of sublime and rugged scenery as may be presented through the medium of poetical description. But in the case of the Persian, the first idea that would be suggested to him whether by a real or imaginary prospect of, for example, a Highland pass, or a sunset among the mountains, would in all probability relate to wild beasts or banditti, or something equally uncomfortable and unromantic.* Hence, it is not surprising that the poet, in casting about him for some pleasing key-note to his lay, goes no further afield than his reader's own well-inclosed *Gulistan*, or rose-garden ; where the 'Queen of Flowers' is depicted as having just unfolded her red petals, or, figuratively, 'taken a cup of, ruby wine in her hand while her lover the nightingale,—the *πολυφλοισβος* of Persian poetry—is serenading her with a volume of voluptuous song. The rose, having thus performed her part, disappears from the stage, somewhat after the fashion of the 'Sensitive plant' of Shelley : and the reader having been sent away in imagination to his pleasant 'Sabine Farm,' and placed mentally in a proper attitude for listening, the poet then proceeds to expound his philosophy to him. The way in which, towards the middle of the ode, Hâfiz retires all of a sudden into his 'tub' of mysticism, and begins extolling the advantages of Sûfi seclusion, is thoroughly characteristic. The hint too, about the *fume* accruing to the devotee from the singularity of life which he makes it his business to display is worth noting.

* Without travelling so far out of our way as Persia, see in the 'Heart of Mid Lothian' the sentiments which mountain scenery sometimes inspires even in the minds of our own countrymen. "As for the matter of that," said mine host of the 'Saracen's Head,' at Newark, to a Scottish travel-

ler, who was complaining of the flatness of the country she was passing through on her route to London "an' you be so fond of hill, I carena' an' thou could'st carry Gunnerby away with thee in thy lap ; for its a murder to post horses."

The true Sûfi holds himself absolutely aloof from all human patrons. But there is nothing more common in Eastern countries than for rascals and adventurers of every kind to assume the profession of the saint, merely in hopes of attracting the notice of the great.

The way in which some of the poet's own special doctrines are, as it were, wrapped up in the strange tenets and phraseology of mysticism in the ode next to be presented to the reader is very original and striking; while one inherent feature of Sûfism, viz., fatalism, is at the same time exhibited :—

Rail not, O pure-souled Pharisee, at the followers of pleasure;
The sin of another will not be written down to thee.

What of me, whether saint or sinner, go, see thou to thyself!
Let each reap at last that which he has sowed.

All mankind, the sober and the intoxicated alike, are seekers after
the Friend;
Every place alike, whether Mosque or Synagogue, is a house of Love.

As for me, I have laid myself in the dust of the tavern doorway.
If the caviller understand not sound words, let his head be
broken with a brick.

Make me not to despair before the day of Judgment;
What knowest thou, behind the curtain who comely, who unsightl.

Not I alone have been cut off from Piety's fold:
My father likewise let slip from his grasp the everlasting Paradise.

Rest not upon good works, O my master, for in the beginning,
What the creative pen may have written opposite thy name is all
unknown to thee.

If thy soul's very essence be purity, still O pure one, beware!
If virtue's self reside within thee, yet alas for thee, O virtuous one!

Passing sweet are the gardens of the Blessed: and yet bethink ye!
And enjoy while ye may this world's willow shade, and waving
fields!

O Hâfiz, what if in the hour of death you take a wine-cup in
your hand,
Yet at one bound will the freed soul pass from the street of the
vintners to the heavenly mansions.

Odes like the above have been used to support the theory that Hâfiz was at heart a Christian; and it is more than probable that, like the founder of the Muhammadan faith himself, he may have had a book or traditional acquaintance with the teaching of Jesus. Parallelisms might even be attempted between some of the senti-

ments expressed in the course of the verses just translated and one or two of the doctrines which are usually associated with the name of the great French reformer. But the teaching of Hāfiz, like that of Burns, had in truth, and as a whole, far less of the theology of Calvin about it than of the theology of the Sermon on the Mount. And the 'Prodigal Son of the Church of Scotland,' as Dean Stanley has finely called him, when he wrote the following lines, was only preaching what the 'Prodigal Son' of Persian Islamism had preached before him in many a noble poem :

"Then gently scan your brother man,
Still gentler sister woman."

* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * *

"Who made the heart, 'tis He, alone
Decidedly can try us ;
He knows each chord—its various tone,
Each spring, its various bias :

Then at the balance let's be mute, "
We never can adjust it ;
What's *done* we partly may compute,
But know not what's *resisted*."

One other translation we propose offering to the reader :—

These are days when the only safe companions
Are a flask of pure wine, and a roll of love-songs.

Hold on your way alone, for safety's path is a narrow one ;
Take the wine-cup in your hand : sweet life ebbs once and for ever.

Not I alone of all men am sad because of short-comings :
The unhappiness even of the wise is because of theory without
practice.

Wisdom's eye, as it scans life's dangerous ferry,
Sees naught of stability, naught of reality, in the world and its
affairs.

My heart was filled with hope that Thy countenance would be
revealed to me :
But Fate stands in life's path, the very highwayman of hope.

The visage that has been marked from the beginning with misfor-
tune's black impress
Cannot be made bright by washing and washing : and so of all
things.

Lay thou hold of the ringlet of some moon-faced charmer, and
read not vain fables :
Good fortune is all of Venus ; sinister of Saturn.

Apt to decay is every edifice the eye can discover;
 Saving only love's own palace, which is free from flaw or breach.

In 'no age will they find one so composed
 As our Hâfiz; inflamed as he is with the wine of eternity.

The practice of virtue, whether for its own sake or as forming part of a theory of good works, being foreign to the whole scheme of Sûfîsm as such, as has been shown above, injunctions of an ethical character would have been met with even less frequently than they are in Hâfiz writings, had the poet himself been a Sûfî and nothing more. In the following couplet, however, an excellent moral precept is drawn from the instability of human prosperity:—

Fortune's favour is but a ten days' fiction, or fable:
 Find then, O my friends, the opportunity of doing good to your fellows.

One of the greatest and best of our own poets and countrymen, towards the close of a noble life, recorded it, if we remember rightly, in his journal, as one of his chief sources of consolation, that he did not recollect ever having neglected a legitimate opportunity of helping a brother man. Were the principle thus inculcated by Hâfiz, and practised by Sir Walter Scott, ever to become general, what a change in the conditions of humanity would be produced by it, to be sure!

Further on in the ode from which the above couplet is taken, there occurs the following passage: which we quote partly for its own sake, and partly as illustrating the difficulty sometimes met with in fixing the meaning of writers belonging to another age, and using another language, than our own:—

Peace for both worlds is wrapped up in these two principles;
 With friends courtesy, with enemies humility.

Now the word translated 'humility' (*mudârrâ*) has the following meanings assigned to it in one of the best Arabic dictionaries: 'humility,' 'civility,' 'politeness,' 'dissimulation.' So that the question of whether Hâfiz taught the doctrine merely of *disarming* our enemies, by means of a gentle and unassuming demeanour, or of *circumventing* them, by means of actual deceit or hypocrisy, can be answered only by those competent to decide whether the poet used a certain word in its primary, or derivative sense of dissembling; or in its secondary, and apparently common and conventional signification of conciliating, or propitiating.

To attempt a comparison between Hâfiz and any of those great masters of the lyre with whom he is commonly bracketed seems to us a profitless task: and we do not even propose presenting

our readers with specimens of any of his purely lyrical compositions. Every harp demands the touch of its own peculiar minstrel ; or at all events, it is not every form of poetry which admits of being transplanted ' from the garden where it grew ' to a foreign and possibly uncongenial soil. Some few verses there may be which, like Sappho's well-known lines to evening,—

“ Εσπερε πάντα φερρίς,
Φερρίς οινον, φερρίς αίμα—
Φερρίς μάτερι παιδά—”

cannot fail to produce their own essentially poetical and pleasing effects, disguise them in whatever garb we may. Thus, the ‘*παντα*’ which the going down of the sun brings to every human heart and body suggest themselves, with all the force and freshness of poetry’s prime, the moment the word is read ; whether it be in the Sultan’s palace, the Maori’s hut, or the English labourer’s cottage ; and even the slight and graceful amplification which the second and third lines contain was scarcely needed to give completeness to so universally intelligible a picture.* But turn to something rather more complicated, and take, for example, the Witch scene in Macbeth, or Burns’ inimitable Cantata of ‘the Jolly Beggars.’ Translate those, one or both, into Persian, and present them in their Eastern dress before a Shirâz assembly, and the sensations produced in every mind will, we answer for it, be the very opposite of any of those which it is generally understood to be the province of poetry to awaken. Nay more ; submit, were it possible to do so, the themes of those master-pieces of genius to the anatomical treatment of our own Crabbe, and see how much, or how little, of the poetry of them would survive the process. All that is now being stated is so evident when applied to our own side of this matter, that the wonder is similar results should not be looked for when, for example, Persian poetry comes to be translated into English prose or verse. Where there is no community of thought—no intimate knowledge of one another—there can, obviously, be no sympathy ; where no

* Thus Byron, sending down the pitcher of his own imagination into the tiny Pierian spring of Sappho’s lines, draws it up again with the following thoughts bubbling on the brim :

“ O Hesperus, thou bringest all good things ;
Home to the weary, to the hungry cheer ;
To the young bird, the parent’s brooding wings ;
The welcome stall to the o’erlaboured steer ;
Whate’er of peace about our hearth-stone clings,
Whate’er our household gods protect of dear,
Are gathered round us by thy look of rest ;
Thou bring’st the child too to the mother’s breast.”

sympthy, no appreciation, far less admiration. Horace and Homer, or even Virgil and Sophocles, it is true, have been made famous all over the civilized world partly through the medium of translations. But then it has to be remembered that one result of our long established methods of education has been to cover Europe with large surfaces, so to speak, of ground where the mere mention of the great classical authors of antiquity serves to excite associations only a few degrees less sacred than those of the fatherland; where more is known about Troy perhaps than about the nearest capital city; and where the names of Augustus and Maccenas, Ajax and Ulysses, come home to the heart like household words, '*Whatever you do with your sons, send them into the world saturated with Homer*,' said, in substance at least, a famous professor of Greek, on a great public occasion a few years ago. How much of the spell exercised by Homer throughout many other lands than his own is due to the intrinsic and abstract excellence of his wonderful epics, and how much to the spirit of love and veneration with which the whole world has come to regard him, is far too knotty a point for us to discuss. But the vantage ground which an author occupies toward foreign readers when these approach him 'saturated' with the language, philosophy, and associations of his own times and country, must be sufficiently obvious. Among English scholars we know only of Sir W. Jones who, from his multifarious learning, not less than from the philosophical structure of his mind, has been able to deal with Hâfiz and other Eastern poets in that spirit of pure analysis which should always precede the forming of conclusions. Now this unquestionable judge has not hesitated to quote a certain ode of Hâfiz as not unlike a sonnet ascribed to Shakespeare himself; and though far too ripe a critic to place on the same level as Homer any of the heroic poets who have succeeded him, yet he declares a 'very great resemblance' to exist between even the Iliad and Fardost's great epic of the Shâhnâma. Both poets, he maintains, drew their images from nature herself; without catching them only by reflection, that is, painting the likeness of a likeness; and both, he adds, possessed in an eminent degree that rich and creative invention which is the very soul of poetry. So full indeed was the measure of appreciation which Sir W. Jones accorded to Hâfiz and other Persian poets, in an essay on the poetry of Eastern Nations, that he felt called upon to conclude his remarks as follows:

"I must request that, in bestowing these praises on the writings of Asia, I may not be thought to derogate from the merit of the Greek and Latin poems which have justly been admired in every age; yet I cannot but think that our European poetry has subsisted too long on the perpetual repetition of the same images

and incessant allusions to the same fables; and it has been my endeavour for several years to inculcate this truth, that if the principal writings of the Asiatics which are repositied in our public libraries were printed, with the usual advantage of notes and illustrations, and if the languages of the eastern nations were studied in our great seminaries of learning, where every other branch of useful knowledge is taught to perfection, a new and ample field would be opened for speculation; we should have a more extensive insight into the history of the human mind; we should be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes; and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate."

In the case at least of Hâfiz, the marked influence which his writings have exercised on the Muhammadan character, and on the course of thought, in every portion of the East during all the centuries that have elapsed since his time has been more than once adverted to in the course of this article. At Constantinople it is said, his poems "are venerated as divine compositions." Throughout Muhammadan India, as well, as in his own native Persia, he is to this day, as has been shown above, more often quoted perhaps than any other author. And, remembering the force of the old saying of Fletcher of Saltoun's, '*give me the making of a people's songs, and any one who likes may make their laws,*' we cannot help arriving at the conclusion that, judged of merely by the ascendancy which he has so long maintained among his own countrymen and co-religionists, a place among the master spirits of the human race must certainly be assigned to Hâfiz.

ART. III.—GENERAL TREMENHEERE ON MISSIONS.

(Independent Section).

Missions in India. The system of education in Government and Mission Schools contrasted. By Lieutenant-General C. W. Tremeneere, C.B. King & Co., London. 1876. [pp. 100.]

GENERAL TREMENHEERE'S pamphlet is an indication of the increased attention which is being given to Indian Missions. It is unquestionably a great benefit to the cause of Missions when an Indian officer of long standing and high position contributes the results of his reflection and experience. It is good to have those who are outside the circles of missionary workers and Mission Report-writers discussing the matter with a freedom from prejudice, which is scarcely attainable by most of those whose life has gradually slipped into a groove of missionary work—provided of course, that they come, as General Tremeneere does, not merely to find fault with whatever is done, but with a sincere and earnest desire to improve and help on the work of Missions.

We think General Tremeneere's pamphlet of great value, although we are compelled to dissent from much that is in it. It is a free, bold, earnest discussion of the merits or demerits of the present system of missionary schools. There is much in it that is obviously true, and that has already been deeply felt by many persons interested in Missions; but no one of long Indian experience has expressed himself so plainly and so publicly on the point. But, on the other hand, there are views set forth, which, we are convinced, are founded on an entire misapprehension of the thoughts and feelings of the natives of India, whilst the practical conclusion of the pamphlet, with respect to religious education is, to our mind, very unpractical, not to say impossible.

It may seem rather presumptuous to challenge General Tremeneere's knowledge of the natives after forty years of service in India. But we appeal to all English officials resident in India, to know whether after all the intercourse in the way of business which they are obliged to have with natives, and after all the social intercourse which they may cultivate with them from a sincere desire to promote friendly relations between the two races,—whether after all this they do not feel almost entirely in the dark as to what a native's mind and feelings really are. It is no discourtesy to the General to maintain that we do not think he has solved a problem which almost all in his position consider to be insoluble. And without either claiming for the missionaries universally, a knowledge of the natives which other Englishmen do not possess, or maintaining that even

any of them at all can *fully* enter into feelings so entirely different from our own as a Hindu's are, we do say that the missionaries as a body know better the temper and thoughts of the natives than any other set of Englishmen, and that those in particular who live amongst them in continual familiar intercourse can tell with considerable accuracy what their ideas are on particular points. So many are the axioms and ideas, moral, social, political, ratiocinative, artistic, and scientific, which we receive from our childhood as our heritage of the common stock of English and European thought, that we can scarcely separate those which are common to all humanity, from those which are peculiar to the West and to Christianity. Yet the importation of any of these latter into our conception of the native of India is fatal to our real knowledge of him. Nothing but experience can really reveal to us the character of the native mind,—nothing but that experience which is gained from continually living with them on familiar terms. And this, we need not say, is an impossibility for almost every Englishman in India except the missionary.

To come, however, to the first count in General Tremenhoe's indictment of Mission schools. He urges, that the Missionary Societies waste a great amount of labour and money in giving to the native a secular education, which is, after all, inferior to that received at the Government schools. 'The amount expended by the Missionary Societies themselves, independent of the aid granted by Government and the fees of the scholars, he states to be £50,310. The labour in which it involves many missionaries, who would otherwise, presumably, be employed in some evangelistic or religious work, cannot be calculated, but must be exceedingly great. It is also obvious, as he shows, that the superintendence of schools in which English is taught, is injurious to the Missionaries' acquirement of the native languages. Moreover, that the actual secular instruction imparted in Mission schools is inferior to that in Government ones, seems to be shown by the statistics which he adduces of the University examinations, and by the report of the Inspectors. As for the number of converts to Christianity made from Mission schools, it is certainly exceedingly small.

Such considerations as these certainly seem to be valid ground for opposing the continuance of the present system of missionary schools. When the Missionary Societies undertook the work of commencing the education of the natives, they were of course alone. In this, as in almost every project for the amelioration of the people, private religious enterprise anticipated Government. As in England the clergy of the Church, so in this country the missionaries, took up the work of education, and carried it on with great and increasing energy, before the Government even

thought of it. But, however great credit is due for the benevolent exertions of missionaries in this direction in past times, it does not follow that it is wise to continue them now. With their limited resources it is impossible for Missionary Societies to compete against a Government holding almost unlimited command of money and men. Nor does there seem to be sufficient cause for endeavouring to do so. If the religious and moral effect of the Mission schools upon the youth of India is not, as General Tremenheere maintains, worse than that of Government schools, is it so much better? Is there any evidence at all that it is worth the cost of men and money, at which it is maintained? As regards the propagation and promotion of Christianity, might not these be used with much greater effect in some other way?

We cannot help feeling surprised that the missionaries of India never, so far as we know, make the relief of the destitute an ordinary part of their work. In England the care of the poor is carried out under the direction of the clergy, if not by their own personal administration, although the Government at home is supposed to take care that no one shall actually starve. But in India there is no legal provision made for the poor, either in British territory, or in the native states; and the need for it is said by medical men and others, to be exceedingly great. There are many people who are living only just above starvation point, and sickness or loss of employment brings them below it. The cold weather kills many, because they are not able to cover themselves sufficiently at night. The natives of India are, no doubt, very ready to give alms—generally food—to beggars, but those of whom we speak rarely beg. Some few cripples, blind men, and other unfortunates resort to begging, but the majority of beggars are sturdy *fauquirs*. These receive abundantly, for the people are partly convinced that it is a very meritorious act to give to them, partly afraid of the consequences of refusing them. But the idea of searching out the real poor and needy, and relieving their distress is as unknown in Hindustan as it was in Europe before Christianity introduced it.

To attempt to minister now in some slight degree to this amount of misery seems to us a Christian work well worthy of our missionaries. The money which they spend on secular schools would be vastly better employed, to our mind, in relieving the wants of suffering fellow-creatures, especially now that Government takes up the cause of education as its own. The careful search for, and investigation of, these cases would be a much better occupation for many of the Mission agents than teaching in schools and for the missionaries themselves it would be a real gain to be engaged in a work bringing them into such close contact with the

natives," and minute knowledge of the circumstances of their lives, rather than in superintending the Anglicising of the rising generation within the walls of a model English-built school. And to advert to a more supernatural view of the case, we cannot imagine anything more likely to bring down the blessing of God upon their spiritual labours.

Again, there is a branch of educational work much neglected, that we think is far more incumbent on missionaries than that of general schools for the heathen—*viz.*, schools for native Christians, and special colleges for training natives for the ministry and for mission work. Good boarding-schools are needed for the children of native Christians in good circumstances, where they may be educated in a thoroughly Christian way, apart from the deleterious companionship of un-Christian boys. It would be well worth while to spend money and labour in establishing such schools and in making them thoroughly good. The children should be received at rates varying according to their parents' circumstances, and should be cared for with tenderness, whilst at the same time they were encouraged to be brave and manly and industrious. We believe that missionaries would reap a rich reward from such schools.

Even now in schools for the heathen how much influence a missionary has, if he really cares for the boys, and shows himself their friend out of school as well as their instructor in school. But such missionaries are rare. Besides, with every baptism comes a panic that upsets the school for a time. It requires a courageous and persevering man indeed to work under such difficulties. Dr. Duff worked in this way at Calcutta and was successful. Of course, many thought his success was due to the system, whereas it was the man himself who made the system a living power. Moreover, at Calcutta he had a particularly intellectual race to deal with, and students of a more mature age than most mission schools. But let a missionary take the same interest and bestow the same care on a school of native Christians, and may we not expect that he would be rewarded by many, even the majority, turning out earnest and exemplary Christians, such as would be a real living power for promoting the Gospel of Christ? This would give us, too, what is so much wanted—more candidates for the ministry from the upper classes of native Christians.

And for our native ministers and mission workers many more training colleges are needed. The C. M. S. theological school at Lahore, and Bishop's College at Calcutta, are the only ones possessed by the Church in North India. More are urgently needed, and that of two sorts. First, colleges for men of superior education and

position, whose language and habits are more English than native; and such colleges we would gladly see thrown open to Eurasians and English as well, so that those born in this country, yet not able to afford an education in England, should not, as now, be absolutely debarred from the ministry. Secondly, colleges for natives of a lower rank and attainments, where the instruction should be in the vernacular, and the manner of life Hindustani. For lack of the first of these, it is rare to find the son of a well-to-do native Christian entering the ministry, and for want of the second sort we have a host of untrained, uninstructed catechists, &c., employed to do a work for which they are very unfit. The salaries which they receive at present would be much better employed in paying their expenses at such a college. At present it is a most serious question whether many of them are not doing more harm than good. How can it be possible to justify this enormous expenditure of money and men on schools for the heathen, when the very teachers of the Christian religion are so neglected?

We will conclude our remarks on this point with an extract from that standard book, *The Indian Missionary Manual*: "In some missions the training of native agents receives due attention; in others it is almost entirely neglected. Few errors have done more to retard the progress of Christianity in India than the overlooking of this most important department. The compiler was asked why a large mission in North India had no theological institution. The reply was, 'Every missionary trains his own agents! This is little better than mockery. The agents are *not* trained in this way and they *CANNOT* be properly trained. The ordinary missionary has no time, and in some instances little inclination to attend sufficiently to his native agents. There are perhaps a few missionaries who do nothing more than pay the salaries of their native agents, with an occasional reprimand for their indolence and inefficiency. After a systematic training has been given, the missionary may do the comparatively easy work of keeping up, in some measure, the habit of study; but that an ordinary missionary in charge of a station can do *all* that is necessary is a delusion, as is shown by painful experience. Many missions are reaping the bitter fruits of past neglect. In every mission of any size, the best qualified man should be set apart to the special work of training native agents. *It cannot be done otherwise.*" Page 299.

There is one point connected with mission schools, on which General Trementheere is very severe, *viz.*, the employment of non-Christian teachers to give religious instruction. That all missionaries must dislike to have it so is evident. Their defence is, that we must do the best we can under existing circumstances;

that in many cases Christian teachers cannot be obtained, while, even if available, they cannot collect pupils; that an outwardly moral heathen is better than a bad nominal Christian, and that it brings disgrace upon a Christian mission if an incompetent school-master is appointed. These are the reasons urged for employing heathens in the schools. That when engaged on these grounds they should be required to teach Christianity is defended as follows: "All that need be required of Hindoo teachers is simply to teach the children to read the Christian lessons. In a Mission school the missionary is the *principal*, the native teacher the *subordinate*. The course of instruction represents the views of the former, not of the latter. The native teacher is simply like a monitor employed by a teacher to hear lessons prepared."

This defence might be a sufficient excuse if it were shown that these schools are really a necessity, or the best way in which missionaries can work; but if, as many people besides General Tremenhœere think, it were better for our missionaries to give themselves to other work, then the matter will be most satisfactorily disposed of by the abandonment of a system which is regarded by its defenders only as a necessary evil.

Again, General Tremenhœere is entirely opposed to the books published by the Christian Vernacular Education Society, which are in use in so many mission schools. He objects to them, that they directly attack idolatry and caste; that they speak of Christianity as the only true religion; that they teach Christian doctrine; that they include Christian hymns among the pieces to be learnt by heart by the pupils. Now, in such a matter as this, we venture to think that almost everything depends on the way in which it is done. Certainly great care ought to be taken to preserve reverence in all matters of religion, and a general use of Christian hymns in a heathen school cannot but be objectionable. Yet it does not follow that there are not lads in every, or almost every, school who would read properly-selected hymns with reverence and profit. Much of the doctrinal catechism, quoted by General Tremenhœere, assuredly does seem unsuitable teaching for heathen scholars. It speaks of matters which cannot be of interest to any but a Christian, and doctrines which are not to be apprehended by the natural reason. But some part of it is only such teaching as the missionary must bring before heathens, even in his first sermon to them. Why is that to be withheld from the boys reading quietly in school, which is openly preached to their fathers, perhaps amidst the noise of the *bâzâr* in order to win converts to Christianity? Some of the truths of the Gospel must be proclaimed to them. Till they have received with faith these first and fundamental truths, the rest must be kept back. And here discretion comes in to lay down the boundary

between what is to be taught and what is to be reserved. We cannot enter into this question now, but we do not think that the General is right in proposing to cut the knot by abolishing the name of Christ from the lesson-books.

As for the General's idea that it is grossly immoral to teach the children the evils of caste and of idolatry, we think he labours under an entire misapprehension of the state of the case. Teaching of this sort can be supported from the Hindoo writings and finds a ready response often among Hindoos. Of course it is one thing to see and acknowledge the folly of a prevailing custom, and another thing to break through it. If you endeavour *in practice* to break through the caste of a school, you may soon lose your scholars; but you may teach them *by word* the evil of caste without even giving offence. It is the same thing in a church of Christians. You may preach as much as you like on St. James' denunciation of the custom of giving the rich the best seats and the poor the worst; but if a clergyman proceeds to put his theory into practice and abolishes pews and sittings, he must look out for a storm. But is it immoral for him to preach his doctrine, or even to get his congregation to profess their belief in it? Such acquiescence in theory is always the first step towards practice. Until this spirit is given, action cannot be expected. When our Hindoo population have all been instructed in childhood of the evils of caste and idolatry, we may be sure caste and idolatry will not last long.

The idea, too, of attributing to children conscious falsehood in answering questions of this sort is, we think, imaginary. Even Christian children, in whom a sense of truth and reality is much more strongly developed, learn contradictory lessons without seeing their inconsistency. How many children ever dream of the inconsistency of professing their belief in the Catholic Church in divine service and indignantly repudiating the idea of being Catholics at any other time? We need not suppose, then, that heathen children are afflicted with any feeling of insincerity, when they say that an idol is nothing but a stone, although they have just before made their *pûjâ* to one.

But perhaps it may be said, "If children take in so little the consequences of the truth which they learn, of what use is it to teach them?" We reply that the seed of truth which is sown in their minds may hereafter lead them to follow its guidance and to reject error. That which is not done at once can be done by degrees. It would be folly to refuse to teach the truth, because on first learning it men and boys do not immediately put it in practice. Such a result cannot ordinarily be expected, and, as Dr. Caldwell says, there is probably no country in the world in which there is so long a distance between assent and conviction,

and conviction and action, as India. We must have patience, and the people will eventually find out that they cannot hold truth and error at the same time.

And now we must consider what General Tremenheere has to say about Government schools. Although he gives them the preference to mission schools, he is by no means satisfied with them. He says, "I thoroughly approve of the general position which the Government of India has taken up, that of a strict neutrality with respect to any definite religious teaching in their schools; but I submit that as the inevitable result of the teaching which they now provide is to loosen and eventually to destroy all faith in the ecclesiastical systems which have hitherto prevailed, they are bound to introduce some systematic teaching of morals which will afford their pupils some rules for their guidance, which may be of use to them in meeting the various trials and temptations of life."

It is indeed a painful thing to see the flower of the youth of India educated by the Government without any religion at all. As a matter almost of course, a good English education deprives the student, whether Hindoo or Mussulman, of faith in his own creed. They themselves complain that Government takes away their old religion and gives them nothing in its place. It seems almost as if Government was anxious to keep them from Christian influences. Whatever the cause may be, the educational department in India is strong in unbelievers. There is a general impression that notwithstanding, by the Government rules, schoolmasters and professors are free to teach religion out of school hours to such pupils as desire it, yet that such a course would be viewed with disapproval and perhaps stop promotion. The libraries of the colleges whilst stocked with the books of unbelievers are quite deficient in such books as would lead to Christian belief. If this be timidity on the part of the Government, we think it is both unworthy of a Christian government, and uncalled for.

What is the result of all this English education? Does it make the young men better citizens? more favourable to the British rule? more moral? better mannered? That it enlightens them to a certain extent is obvious, and this must be counted as a great gain, since it prepares them, at any rate, for the intelligent reception of higher religious and moral ideas. But it is only a preparation, and the religious moral sentiments which are at the basis of all nobility of character are never imparted by the Government. Indirectly, of course, they sometimes gain them from the influence of good professors, but indirectly only. Education at a Government college gives to the native a capacity for doing office work if he can get a place, and, as he thinks, a right to be discontented if he does not get one. It gives him the idea

of being unjustly used in being deprived of a political liberty for which he is wholly unfit. It makes him, though a native of a country in which politeness is almost natural, acquire manners which are as unpleasant to an Englishman as they are unnatural to himself. Christianity is the root and source of all that political freedom which belongs to the states of Christendom; it is the cause of her advance in arts, in science, in commerce; it is the bond which links together the rulers and the ruled, and without which no government is stable; it is the inspiration of chivalry and of that good breeding which owes its origin to chivalry. Without Christianity it is as impossible for a native to copy these excellencies, as for a wax-work figure to walk and talk. When Government has succeeded in making India a nation of *bábais*, what then? Is it a gain or a loss if we are to stop there?

For our part, we think the policy of the Government in preserving a strict neutrality as regards religious teaching, a great mistake. It is generally supposed that if a definite course were pursued, a rebellion would be the consequence. This is an error due to the great difficulty which Europeans have in understanding the native mind. It is quite true that if the natives felt an attempt was made by Government to change their religion, there would probably be a rebellion. But what do they view as an attempt to change their religion? Forcible violation of caste or of their outward ceremonies, not any teaching of intellectual dogma. It is quite true, in our opinion, though some doubt it, that a greased cartridge was the real cause of the mutiny, and we know that a whole school has been permanently ruined by the persistent determination of a magistrate to introduce boys of low caste; but we believe that the Bible might be taught in every Government school in India without even giving offence to the people. We Europeans are most jealous about creeds and dogmas, most sensitive as to the exact religious opinions impressed on the minds of our children. This is because all our idea of religion is intellectual and spiritual, not ceremonial. It is the very opposite with the Hindoo. If he had indeed got those ideas which are so liberally imputed to him, he would be half way to Christianity. With him the essence of a religion is its external rules, the dogma is a minor matter. To observe his ceremonial is strictly incumbent on him; in dogma he may embrace what he pleases, from atheism to polytheism. There is no fear on their parts lest we should put Christian doctrines into the minds of their children; their only fear is lest we should put Christian food into their mouths.

This being the case, we think that Government has made a great mistake in not teaching the elements of the Christian religion in their schools. We have heard it indeed urged that such a

course would be unjust,—that Government is bound not to bias the minds of her subjects to any one religion; that they ought to have perfect liberty to choose for themselves in what religion they will have their children educated. But what a fallacy is this! Is it a piece of tyranny that Government only employs doctors who are trained in the European system of medicines, and establishes dispensaries on English principles? Ought the people to have what they like much better, *viz.*, the treatment of their own *hakims* and their own charms? We say, indeed, “You can have your own doctors if you like, but you must pay for them out of your own pocket; you need not come to the Government dispensary unless you choose; but as governors we are bound to establish what we believe to be the best system whether you approve of it or not.” So might Government equally well say with regard to education, “You can send your son, if you like, to your own school, but in the Government school we can only teach that which we believe to be the truth.”

General Tremenhoe's proposal indeed is the same as our own, only in his schedule of religious teaching he has as far as possible used non-Christian phrases and terms. He maintains that there is a large body of religious truth common to all creeds, which Government ought to teach in the schools. These divine truths he enumerates as follows: (p. 63.)

- (i.) That our great internal teacher of religion is *conscience*.
The aspect of natural religion is severe,
It suggests that we shall be judged.
That the offender must suffer.
- (ii.) All religions are based on the sense of sin.
Its many variations proclaim,
 - (a) That man is in a degraded, servile condition.
 - (b) That he needs expiation, reconciliation, and some great change of nature.
 - (c) Which includes the doctrines of a Priesthood, Mediation, and Atonement. They all imply hope.
- (iii.) The course of this world,
Sufferings, bodily and mental, are witnesses to the alienation between God and man.
Experience teaches that the future depends on the present.
That man is not sufficient for his own happiness.
That disobedience to his own sense of right is misery.
That man cannot change his own nature and habits by wishing. The longer he lives the more difficult he is to change.
- (iv.) All religion, if genuine, is a blessing, natural as well as revealed.

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There is no genuine religion without the sense of sin.
 Religious institutions and beliefs, of some kind or other,
 • are of general acceptance in all times and places.

Now, when we consider that this catalogue of religious dogmas contain the doctrine of original sin, of the Atonement, of Regeneration, of a Mediator, of the Judgment, of Repentance, of Future Punishment and of Salvation, what is it that General Tremenhœre proposes to have taught but those very elements of Christianity which we advocate. If, as he says, they can be supported from the religious books of the natives, so much the better and more convincing; but why should it be unlawful to teach them also from the book which contains them all? Why should it be forbidden to teach them on the authority of that book which alone, in teaching them as a whole, claims for itself Divine authority? For Government to frame for itself a hand-book of religious dogma to be taught in all its schools and colleges would, we venture to think, cause considerable dissatisfaction among the masters, if not among the boys, and certainly lay it open to the charge of presumption. For Government to make the Bible its text-book of religion, and trust to the good sense and reverence of its masters to use it aright, would be, we think, both safe and wise.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the Bible is regarded with hatred and irreverence by the natives of India. There is so much respect for all religions amongst them, that any book which claims to be the word of God obtains a reverent reception. Mussulmans, of course, are bound to believe in it, and profess to do so, although almost universally ignorant of its contents. Who are those who blaspheme it? Alas, only those who have received an English education, and who have learnt infidelity from Mill, or Colenso, or Tom Paine. That if the Bible was discreetly taught in Government schools there would still be some of those, we do not at all doubt, but we also feel sure, that there would be far more who, whether they embraced Christianity or not, would have been impressed and influenced for good, and favourably disposed towards it.

In the course of his pamphlet, General Tremenhœre brings the accusation against missionaries of ignorance of the vernaculars. In answer to this charge, we think it only right to quote the testimony of the Government "Statement of the Condition of India for 1872-3."

"No body of men pays greater attention to the study of the native language than the Indian missionaries. With several missionary societies (as with the Indian Government) it is a rule that the younger missionaries shall pass a series of examinations in the vernacular of the district in which they reside; and the general

practice has been that all who have to deal with natives who do not know English, shall seek a high proficiency in the vernaculars. The result is too remarkable to be overlooked.

"The missionaries, as a body, know the natives of India well; they have prepared hundreds of works, suited both for schools and for general circulation, in the fifteen most prominent languages of India, and in several other dialects. They are the compilers of several dictionaries and grammars; they have written important works on the native classics and the systems of philosophy; and they have largely stimulated the great increase of the native literature prepared in recent years by educated native gentlemen." (p. 153)

And now to consider General Tremenhcere's last suggestions. He follows the late revered Bishop Douglas, who so eloquently urged the necessity of Christianity presenting to the heathen world a more corporate idea. He says:

"It is obviously essential that, as the old bonds of society are broken up, any agency, to be really effective, must embody some principle of corporate life, strong enough to supply their place.

It is quite impossible that Protestant missions can meet this want.

It must be met not by a mere abstraction, which would be altogether powerless, but by an all-penetrating and vital energy. It must possess an outward organic form, as well as an inner life; in a word it must be the Church, in which men are knit together in the bond of one Divine Society and are subjects of one Divine kingdom.

Hitherto the missions in India have been dependent on individual effort. We need corporate action; we need a body possessing different members, acting in unison with divine gifts, but deriving its energy from the same spirit—knit together by associating in daily worship; a living, energising, growing body, expanding its influence and life all around and from which the word of God shall be sounded out in all the adjoining region" (p. 73). And then he goes on to cite Bishop Douglas's "letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury," a letter which awakened so much attention in England.

But though all this is true, is it very practical? It is no doubt a great obstacle to the progress of Christianity among the heathen that it cannot show an united front, but it is a far greater obstacle to its progress that it has lost that interior love which would infallibly eventually ensure external unity, and without which external unity is but little. If, indeed, Christians had this real charity, the Holy Spirit would work marvellously in and through the church. But since it is not so, shall we despair? Whilst

praying and waiting for external unity, the best thing we can do is to endeavour to promote charity as much as possible and to practise co-operation as a step towards union. The General does, indeed, put his finger on a blot when he points out the want of union among members of the English Church, and shows that the great hindrances to this are the tendency to selfishness and self-will on the part of missionary societies and the absence of a sufficient number of bishops to be real centres of unity around which the church may organise. We trust, however, the time is not far off when this will be remedied.

The concluding proposals of the General are too long to be quoted here, but we may describe them as being the adaptation to the Indian mission field of those ideas which have for many years past now been transforming our English churches and parishes, and working a complete ecclesiastical revolution. We need not now discuss the merit or the importance of such proposals. It is scarcely possible but that a wave of religious thought, which has risen so high at home, should not eventually be felt in this country. But it may be left very much to take care of itself. We scarcely think that those who attach much importance to it in the missionary field will find it all that they hope, though in its proper degree it is worthy of attention.

We conclude with expressing our unfeigned thanks to the gallant author for expressing himself so earnestly and devoutly and feel sure that good must come of the attention which he has called to a very important question:

ART. IV.—CHARACTERISTICS OF BRITISH BURMAH.

TO the young Englishman who is appointed to the Indian Civil Service one of the first matters of interest is the subject of the Presidency in which his lot is to be cast. The choice lies between the several aggregates of countries and nations which pass under the general title of the Presidency of Bengal, Bombay, or Madras. Until very late years no account has been taken of the neutral ground which forms one of the youngest and most rising of the Indian Provinces. Consolidated little more than fifteen years ago into the Province of British Burmah, the three tracts of Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim, which skirt the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, form a territory which is not only one of the most profitable to the Indian Government, but one whose characteristics mark it as distinct from any other British possession and endow it with an interest, we are inclined to say a charm, which is as great as it is unique. This corner of the Empire is fast rising into the notice which it deserves, and late events have drawn to it prominent attention beyond Indian limits. Yet to this day no officer is for the first time ordered to Burmah and no parent asked to allow his daughter to be taken there who does not shrink from the prospect. If he is able to point to the territory on the map, there rises before his mind a vision of a vast low-lying swamp, haunted by fever and malaria and hopelessly cut off from every trace of civilized life. In the minds of most Englishmen, indeed, Burmah is inextricably mixed up with Siam and Assam, Cambodia and Cochin China, and there is no reason to doubt the story current in the Province that an officer appointed to a regiment at Toungoo, was instructed at the Horse Guards to proceed to the Mauritius, where the authorities received orders to "pass him on."

At all events, neither in England nor in India, we believe, does any adequate notion prevail of the peculiar interests which attach to the Province, of the striking individuality of its peoples, customs and traditions, or of its attitude as a limb of the great Indian Empire. Arakan and Tenasserim have been British possessions for a long series of years, but beyond the fact that they were quiet and yielded a fair revenue, little care was bestowed upon them, and they remained unknown except to the handful of soldiers and civilians who administered there a mild and liberal rule. Twenty-four years ago the acquisition of the noble Province of Pegu rendered the English holdings in Burmese territory a compact Province, comprising within its limits the command of

the whole coast line, and confining the Burmese King to an inland region hemmed in on every side by jealous if not hostile neighbours. "

The revenue of the Province increased in proportion, and from this time attention was drawn to the importance of these remote possessions. It was not, however, until 1862 that a separate Local Government was established with its head-quarters at Rangoon, and even then the mild regime of the first Governor, while it caused the revenue to flow in quietly and abundantly, on that very account prevented any active intrusion into its affairs by a Government satisfied that it paid well and gave no trouble. But nothing could check the advance of a country so naturally rich: private capital found its way thither more and more abundantly, and when once the Government was entrusted to an energetic ruler, rapid strides were made in every form of material progress. The local administration is now gradually passing, whether for good or evil, from the hands of military officers to those of the regular civilians; and with the development of trade, the opening of communications, and the extension of education, the Province has entered upon a new life and awakened to an activity hitherto unknown in these quiet regions.

It may interest our readers if we try here to sketch a few of the most noticeable characteristics which distinguish British Burmah from any other Province which is ruled by the Indian Viceroy. Elsewhere we have spoken of it as severed from the rest of the Empire by every barrier, physical and ethnic, social and religious; and the special marks by which it is distinguished may be thus conveniently classified.—First in order come the physical and external characteristics of the country. Passing from Madras to Bombay or from Bengal to Madras the traveller, in spite of every new object which confronts him, feels that he is still in India; but let him cross the Bay of Bengal and land in Rangoon and he will at once recognize that his five days' voyage has brought him to a new country, and that he is no longer in India.

The first effect produced upon ourselves by the outward appearance of Rangoon was to recall vividly the "willow-pattern" of our early youth. At every turn we were met by some object which had thus been long familiar; buildings with roofs whose eaves ended in curled and carved ornaments; junks and boats on which were built structures fitting them for permanent dwellings; men on land and water wearing hats like a huge round shield with a conical boss in the centre; Chinamen carrying loads slung on bamboos turned upwards, instead of downwards as in India; paper umbrellas, Chinese lanterns, ornamental bridges across artificial waters; pagodas guarded by gigantic

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masonry griffins ; and lastly women wearing, as their ordinary dress, garments such as are only portrayed on China teapots.

We felt, in short, that we were either in China or in a country very near akin to China and having no kindred with India. This impression is heightened by the novelty at once noticed in the character of the vegetation. Along the coast groves of cocoanut alternate with long lines of the tall casurina ; the palmyra, betel and other palms are also not unknown, but the general character of the vegetation is new to the traveller from India. Gigantic forest trees abound ; and, in the beautiful rides and drives at Rangoon and Moulmein, the foliage strikes one as rather European than tropical. But the chief glory of vegetable life is in the variety of the flowering trees and shrubs, many of them unknown in India, which blaze into beauty in the scorching days of March and April. In the early months of the year tall leafless trees, dashed with blossoms of scarlet, rise from the river banks ; and in Rangoon, where nearly every street has its boulevard and every road is an avenue, nothing more beautiful can be seen at this season than the cantonment gardens, where the road winds under an archway of flowers, scarlet and purple and yellow. The *padouk*, which bursts for a day into yellow blossom three times in every summer, scents the whole air with its fragrance, and the towering pema, purple or white, is a conspicuous object of beauty—one like a cherrytree in full blossom, the other like a monster rhododendron. But if such impressions are produced by Rangoon an acquaintance with the interior of the country only increases the sense of its complete isolation from all other Indian provinces. Looking at the country as a whole, perhaps its most conspicuous physical feature is that, naturally, nearly all communication is by water. In the first place the Province is, to all intents, an island ; it is indeed approachable by land from China and from Bengal, but the physical and other barriers are so great that practically it is approached only by sea, and its principal towns are sea ports. Penetrating inland we find that throughout the country the highways are rivers and the bye-ways creeks. The land is indeed so intersected with rivers as almost to render unnecessary any extensive system of roads, and nowhere could the well-known theories of Sir Arthur Cotton be so well put to the test as here. A more magnificent highway than the Irrawaddy could hardly be imagined as it is seen in the months of August and September, like a lake which the eye can scarcely traverse ; and the Sittang and Salween form no less beautiful or useful trunks in the natural system of communication.

A stranger who desired to see for himself this characteristic of the Province should take steamer from Rangoon to Bassein. For two long days, or perhaps more, he will find himself thread-

ing a labyrinth of quiet reaches of calm and apparently stagnant water. The majority are broad shining sheets, most inviting to the oarsman of English rivers; some are so narrow that the steamer crashes through branches of overhanging trees, and all alike are fringed by a thick and impenetrable forest of mangrove and bamboo. Except at intervals, where a village, a pagoda or a group of monasteries is passed, there is almost no sign of life, save now and then a tribe of monkeys or a bird of brilliant plumage.

Nor are rivers and creeks the only water in a Burmese landscape: some lovely lakes are to be found, of which not the least beautiful forms one of the chief attractions of Rangoon.

But to dwell longer on this peculiarity would be to confirm the ignorant in regarding the country as a swamp. The river scenery must unquestionably take the lead in any description of its physical formation; but the country contains, nevertheless, beauties of mountain scenery, of coast line and of island, which are at once characteristic and hardly to be surpassed. Whoever has ascended the Sittang river to the Toungoo frontier has found the beauty of the river scenery heightened by a background of blue mountains which at Toungoo are within easy reach. The Irrawady near Prome is skirted by low wooded hills, whose form and terraced plantations of custard-apple recall the most beautiful bends of the Rhine. Moulmein, the capital of Tenasserim, is planted on hills, and the whole narrow strip which forms the Tenasserim Province, is guarded by lofty and beautiful mountains. The northern tracts of Arakan form a vast mountain region, and the entire Province is broken up by two great mountain ranges, the Pegu and Arakan Yoma, to which it owes its territorial divisions and which have shaped the course of its history as well as of its rivers. More characteristic and perhaps more strikingly beautiful than either river or mountain, is the scenery of the islands which sprinkle the Burmese waters. The coast of Arakan is hidden from the sailor by a chain of wooded islands, but it is from the mouth of the Salween river, and as he approaches the Mergui Archipelago, that the voyager is enchanted by the natural beauties of the coast, as he steers his course between a wooded and mountainous seaboard and a succession of lovely islands clothed with vegetation and with a fringe of whitest sand, where corals and shells are strewn in marvellous profusion.

Amidst this variety of natural scenery lie some of the richest hunting-grounds of the botanist and the naturalist, and some of the rarest of geological phenomena—the mud volcanoes of Arakan, the hot springs of Tenasserim, and vast caves such as are hardly seen except in dreams. To the physical characteristics of the country must be added, moreover, some of the most striking historical remains to be found in the East.

To take a single example; no one can have seen unmoved the marvellous remains of Myohoung in Arakan, the "old town," which is the only trace of an extinct but once powerful dynasty, and of the ancient capital of the kingdom of Arakan. Fifty miles from the port of Akyab, and approachable only by boat, is a site fortified by nature like an eagle's nest. Set in the midst of a network of winding tidal streams which are flanked on either bank by precipitous hills, lie forgotten and unknown the remains of this ancient city, whose solid stone-walls, still in great part standing, might almost have rivalled the Babylon of Herodotus. High in the heart of this natural fortress there remain to this day, though partially levelled, the bare walls of the royal palace of the Kings of Arakan, built square and guarded by four lines of solid masonry, one within another. In the immediate neighbourhood, in a spot which bears, and still probably merits, the name of, "the eighty thousand images," are Buddhist relics of a no less marvellous nature, where gallery after gallery lined with rows of images and traversed only by torchlight is tunnelled under the foundations of an ancient and ruined pagoda. Relics such as these, and the country holds many of no less interest—constitute an almost virgin field for the antiquary and the historian.

Of the ethnical characteristics of Burmah we can only note a few of those which are most prominent. Here, as in most Indian provinces, the population is composed primarily of a mixture of races indigenous to the soil. Burmese, Arakanese, Talines, Shans and Karens—each race with its sub-divisions, and every sub-division having its birthright of associations—form a mixed population enough; but foreign dominion has superadded a perpetual influx of people of every nation under heaven, and a more motley crowd is not to be seen than that which throngs the capital of the Burmese Province, where the Englishman and the German, the Chinaman and the Parsee, the Mogul and the Bengali Baboo mix with venerable ascetics from Mandalay, Panthays from Yunnan, and fair women from Tenasserim. Of ten men who pass each other in the street, no one understands the language of his fellow, of his thoughts or manner of life, but each is isolated in a small community of his own. A curious epitome of the population may be seen in a visit to the fine Government school at Rangoon, among whose four hundred pupils are numbered Europeans, and Eurasians, Jews and Armenians, Chinese and Siamese, besides pupils of the indigenous races and natives of every province of India. Let us enter where a class is engaged upon a lesson in geography, and each boy in turn is called out of the ranks to point out places on the map. One or two bright little Burmese boys with heads completely shaven, save for a

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top-knot at the crown, and with honest, shy, good-humoured faces, are followed by a heavy looking Karen with a face of more strictly Tartar type. Next comes a Mahommedan youth with keener eye but less ingenuous expression; then a dark-skinned boy from Malabar, an Armenian round as a ball, or a Jew bright with flowery waistcoat and brass buttons. Finally a pale sickly looking boy steps forward, more puny than the rest, but more richly dressed and of more delicate feature; this is the last representative of the ancient house of Delhi, the son of that prince who, as a youth in 1857, was made a State prisoner, and has since lived in exile in Rangoon.

Or let us attend a scene more specially characteristic of Burmah, and than which none more picturesque is to be seen in the East, the celebration of a festival at the great pagoda of Rangoon; and let us watch there the vast orderly crowd of men, women and children which flows in one unending stream to and from the hill on which stands this most venerated and most wonderful of Buddhist shrines. Here the crowd is almost exclusively Buddhist, and for that reason almost exclusively clean, orderly and good tempered; yet even here an endless number of races is represented. So closely do the visitors to the pagoda pass up and down the long flight of steps by which it is approached, that it is impossible to go beyond a foot's pace, and from daybreak till afternoon the procession continues, though it is thickest in the early morning. At foot of the steps, and on both sides of the way, are seated women and girls with stalls covered with offerings for sale—flowers and tapers, and paper flags; nuns dressed in white are asking alms, and beggars of the low Indian type are also there. Here a whole family is seen trudging along together to worship and bring offerings to the holy shrine; the father, a respectable Burman in clean white jacket and waist cloth of brilliant silk, his top-knot shining in the morning sun; his wife, a fair and modest-eyed matron, carries one child in her arms and leads another by the hand. All alike are in bright holiday silks, and all alike, to the baby in arms, are smoking the national cigarette. Conspicuous to the eye of the stranger are the grown women and fresh young girls who move amidst the crowd free and independent as their brothers and fathers, for there is no seclusion of women here. The plainest of the girls, and perhaps the majority are plain,—though every face is fair and not a few are very sweet—look clean and modest and are dressed in perfect taste, their black shining hair drawn uniformly back from the face and twisted into a simple knot at the back. A wreath of orchid flowers twines round this knot, or a rose is stuck in at the side, and with a green cigarette held gracefully between the fingers, a Burmese girl presents as unique and pretty a picture as a painter need look for.

The most marked peculiarity of a Burmese crowd is that there is no jostling or pushing. Police are usually on the spot, but any need for their services is of the rarest occurrence, and even if the crush is very great the good humour of the crowd never fails. If you jostle the Burman in the street, or if your dog makes a feint of attacking him, you are invariably greeted not by a scowl as in India, but by a good-natured smile or laugh. These are the men who could not restrain a cheer at witnessing the gallantry of their English enemies in the war, and such notes of character are not without significance. But here a group of Karen women attracts our attention, distinguished from their Burmese companions both by feature and dress; short of stature, with round heads and small eyes obliquely placed, their faces wear a shy, subdued expression, and instead of the universal silk, their dress is of coarse stuff, richly embroidered by hand; and over the embroidered petticoat is thrown a loose jacket of black velvet, with border and streamers of scarlet cloth. Near these are seated some Shans with wrinkled and sunburnt faces. Their dress is of coarse dark-blue cloth; bags ornamented with shells hang from their shoulders, and their heads are crowned by a towering turban of the same indigo blue, rising to the height of a foot, and broadening at the top. Now we are on the broad level platform which surrounds the gigantic Shwedagon pagoda. The crowd is dense, and the sacred shrines which abut on the pagoda, are filled with worshippers kneeling in adoration and with offerings of flowers or tapers in their hands. Masonry altars stand at intervals on the open platform, and are strewn with rice and vegetables, and above all towers the huge gilded, bell-like mass of the pagoda, rivalling St. Paul's in height and surmounted by a tapering crown plated with pure gold, set with precious stones, and hung with bells of gold and silver and bronze, which make perpetual music in the breeze. The value of this crown alone, hoisted with great ceremony five years ago, is estimated at £60,000.

In the shrines or chapels, venerable men and women, with young children by their side, kneel surrounded by huge gilded images, whose outline is dimly seen through the air thick with the smoke of tapers, and the devout murmur of their prayers completes the solemnity of the scene. As you see these old people kneel and pray, you can have no feeling but one of veneration for them and for their religion. There is no such feeling as in a Hindu temple, that you have neither part nor lot in the dark mysteries to which it is devoted: with the simple creed of Buddhism and its professors it is impossible to help a strange sense of kindred. In one shrine, of which the pillars supporting the roof are painted scarlet with gilded capitals, a solemn litany is being chanted by the monks, monotone and response rising and falling as in a Christian

church. With bare shaven heads and yellow robe, and attended by boy-monks, these ascetics move among the crowd on an occasion like this and accept the public homage of the laity, who set before them rich banquets of fruits and rice and vegetables, even of preserved fruits from Europe, and pile up in their honour pyramids of more substantial offerings, mats and fans, carpets and lamps, dishes and vessels of brass or china.

This scene, so familiar to every one who has lived in Burmah, is one of startling novelty and interest to the stranger, who will nowhere find more completely represented the elements which make up the population of this strange country. Time would fail us to tell of the many tribes which have not been mentioned—of the numerous families of Karens, all speaking different dialects and none intermixing with the Burmese, though living side by side with them throughout the country; of the people whose women have from old time tattooed their faces; of the despised tribe of silkworm breeders; of 'Yong-thoos, and of the wild hillmen of Northern Arakan. In every gathering of men in the streets and in all public places, in jails, schools and hospitals, the same wonderful mixture of races at once attracts attention.

But it is in its social aspect that the Province of Burmah is most distinctly marked as separate, not only from every Indian Province, but from every country in the world. Naturally the obvious and well-known general characteristics of the Mongolian race differ widely from those of the Aryan families which populate the greater part of the Indian Empire; but this narrow strip of country, which intervenes between the Aryan Provinces of the west and the vast dominions of China on the east, is inhabited by a people who differ as conspicuously from one neighbour as from the other and who, though they may eventually be absorbed by the influx from every side of nations of a more pushing character, are, for the time being, a people of peculiar interest and attraction to all who live among them. Any commentary upon the social characteristics of a people must be prefaced by some notice of the individual character which gives the direction to the daily life, and the distinguishing marks of the Burmese character are not far to seek. One of the earliest impressions made on a visitor acquainted with India,—one who has there felt that, in spite of every effort, he has no kindred of thought or feeling with the mass of those around him—is, that in Burmah, he is among a people whom he can understand, with whose feelings he can readily sympathize, and whose character enables them to appreciate his actions, however foreign to their own associations. With all their faults the Burmese are to the Englishman a very loveable people, and in no Province does the

district officer find his miscellaneous duties more congenial. The Burman, Oriental though he is and endued with defects which seem inseparable from an Eastern origin, has, in fact, much in common with the Englishman, and among the features of his character to which we shall point, not a few are such as to appeal specially to his English fellow subjects. He shares, for example, the Englishman's roving disposition: nothing does the Burman like better than seeing the world; wandering from one new place to another. He is a genial companion, loving best to do nothing but enjoy life, yet when occasion requires, glorying in hardship and capable of sustained effort. A spendthrift and gambler by nature, he is incapable of hoarding money. Despising effeminacy he is strikingly free from its vices. Truthful from national independence and simplicity rather than from any sense of moral obligation: the most easy-going of men (he will look on unmoved while his house is burnt to the ground), yet when passion is roused the most utterly reckless of consequences.

With a lordly contempt of labour he combines a passionate love of power and a firm Oriental faith in the doctrine that every man has his price; and it is thus that he would rather be the humblest of Government officials than the owner of unvalued merchandise. As regards women, he is jealous to madness and blind in revenge, and the commonest cases of murder arise from affairs of love. Lastly—to us, his paramount attraction—he has a keen natural sense of humour.

Such are some of the most prominent traits of Burmese character, of which illustrations are to be found in every view of the popular life. The first and most noticeable element of that life is the social equality, not only of all men but even of men and women. The crowning blessing of Burmah, as compared with India, is freedom from caste. Perhaps nothing more than caste alienates the governors from the governed in India, and in Burmah where this barrier has never existed, a novel sense of freedom and sympathy is felt in dealing with the people. It is a free country and the people are a free people. Yet though there are no social castes this freedom does not exclude or detract from the value of those natural distinctions which are drawn by breeding or age or position. There are good old families in Burmah though there is no caste prejudice, and birth receives its lawful homage. Office, whether political or religious, is held in profound respect, and if an indigenous aristocracy can be said to have ever existed, it was one of hereditary office. Veneration for old age is universal, and every village has its elders, who, by sole right of venerable age, are the arbiters of its internal affairs, having even a recognized right of marriage and divorce. Here too, as we have said, is seen the spectacle so

wonderful to Indian eyes, of women holding a position of social equality with men, moving about in public without disguise, taking an active part in the business of life, and bearing themselves throughout gracefully and independently. These are no playthings to be kept out of sight, but active helpful women, capable of managing their households and, indeed, usually keeping the family purse and regulating the accounts; and withal, cheery household companions of ready wit and modest manner.

In their family relations the people of Burmah compare favorably with any Eastern race. Lightly as marriages may be made and dissolved, faithfulness to the bond is almost universal, and in this, as in other relations, the absolute sacredness which the Buddhist attaches to a solemn promise is held with religious fidelity.

We have said that the chief physical characteristic of the country is its system of water communication, and we cannot follow the Burman into his home without noticing the life on the water, which is one of the most distinguishing phases of his existence. A boat is to a Burman what a horse is to a Yorkshireman, and the smallest child is skilled in navigating the long, shallow canoe in which much of his life is passed. A volume might be written on the wonderful varieties of craft which ply for ever on the Irrawady, Sittang, and Salween, and on the creeks and streams which fret the intervening country. Each river has its special build of many grades and forms. The fleets of trading boats which cover the face of the Irrawady like a flight of gigantic birds, with wings extending to a width of from thirty to seventy feet, are unknown in Arakan and Tenasserim. The Sittang has boats of another form, and Arakan builds a craft resembling the surf-boats of Madras, and capable of traversing the numerous arms of the sea by which the coast is indented: while the Southern seas are navigated in unwieldy painted junks like those of China. The boat is in fact to the Burman his commonest and, indeed, often his only means of locomotion: it is by boat that the journey to market, or from village to village is most commonly made, and among the most characteristic, though the commonest, sights in Burmah are those of a whole family seated in a long row, in a canoe not two feet wide, laughing and chatting merrily as they drop down the stream; of a yellow-robed monk paddled by twenty of his disciples; or of the long black racing boat which ploughs the water with as many as thirty-five paddles.

It is in his games and sports, however, that the pleasure-loving Burman is, perhaps, seen more entirely in his element than elsewhere. From foot-ball to bull-fights, he delights in a series of sports, and throughout the country, annual holiday is kept at a

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season devoted, in the first place, to religious observance, but which is made the occasion of boat races and pony races, boxing and wrestling matches, stage plays and dancing, and every form of popular amusement. It is at such festivities that the national character may be studied to special advantage, and that the best illustrations are found of the combination of devout religious feeling, strong family affection, humour and good-nature, light-hearted extravagance and devotion to gambling, which characterizes the indigenous races of the Province. In mentioning stage plays, it must be noted that the drama in a primitive form, is the most popular of institutions in Burmah. No celebration or rejoicing of any kind is complete without the national *poogy* or dramatic performance. Throughout the night till daybreak crowded audiences attend and applaud these representations—usually, from the national classic legends—which not seldom extend over several nights and days.

Before leaving the subject of their social characteristics we must add that the Burmese have welcomed as eagerly as any Indian people the material comforts of Western civilization. In the furniture of their houses, in their domestic customs, in their equipages, and even in their dress, they have readily adopted from the European all that adds to the smoothness of daily life. No wilderness is now so remote that the traveller who asked for a light for his cigar would not be offered a box of safety matches, and even the Buddhist monastery is now hung with English lamps and often furnished with chairs and carpets of English manufacture.

A primitive society, composed of such elements as we have described, and surrounded by lavish natural gifts, is one exceptionally favoured! Genial and even-tempered as they are, and with no care for the future, free from social trammels and living in a country which yields abundantly all that their simple life requires, it is not surprising that the Burmese are pre-eminently a happy people. How far any addition can be made to such happiness, or whether it is not rather in danger of being destroyed by the advent of Western civilization, are questions deserving the most thoughtful consideration of those who are entrusted with the Government of the country and the task of regulating the manner in which that civilization is introduced.

Turning to the differences which distinguish the religions of Burmah from the majority of those of the Indian peninsula, we enter upon a subject of profound interest; one, however, which requires for its treatment an intimate knowledge not only of the Burmese people but of the whole history of religion. To such knowledge we cannot lay claim, but the roughest sketch of Burmah would be imperfect which did not touch upon the striking manifestations here presented of the influence of the creed of Buddhism,

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and the manner in which their religious faith separates the Burmese from their fellow-subjects of the Indian Empire. The first objects which meet the eye of the stranger in Burmah are the monuments of religion. Every hill is crowned with a pagoda, and every village has its groups of monasteries and trains of monks conspicuous in yellow robes of uniform fashion. The popular festivals, are religious festivals, and a genuine religious feeling so largely influences the national life that had St. Paul preached in Burmah he might well have enlisted the sympathy of his hearers, as at Athens, by the preface that he "perceived that they were a peculiarly devout people." The most conspicuous outward sign of the popular religion, and, at the same time, the medium of its most powerful influence, is the institution of the Buddhist monastic order. A rigid rule of asceticism, an elaborate ceremonial, bare poverty and the strictest celibacy have been found compatible with the constitution of an order from and to which, admission and egress are at all times voluntary; and notwithstanding the dire confusion which British rule has brought into its hierarchy, by the withdrawal of State sanction from its canons, the dignity of the order itself, in which, to this day, nearly every man of the population passes a novitiate, has been in no way impaired. Universal veneration is paid to the devout ascetic who literally begs his daily bread, who depends wholly for his support upon the devotion of the laity, and who at once repays his patrons and strengthens the position of his religion by undertaking the early education of their sons. Thus, as every village has its monastery, nearly every monastery is a village school. But apart from the material services thus rendered by its devotees, it is no wonder that the tenets of Buddhism are so widely and so firmly held. Whatever of error or falsehood the creed of the Burmese may contain, it is impossible to deny that it is among the purest and noblest forms of religion in the world, and those who have lived in Burmah can testify to its elevating influence, and to the deep hold which it has on the mind of a naturally devout people.

It is thus, as it seems to us, that Christian missions to the Burmese have been so comparatively barren. The simple tribes of the Karens, without a formal religion of their own, have indeed welcomed the Christian and his creed in a wonderful way; but to the Burmese, as a people, the appeal seems hitherto to have been made in vain, and the Christian missionary has had to be content for the most part with the general influence which he can exercise through the medium of education.

Where the influence thus wielded is in accord with the national beliefs, the hold which is gained on a nation is immensely powerful, but it is a less mighty engine where the pupil attends school

only to fit himself by secular training for a secular calling, although he doubtless gains something from the humanizing influences by which he finds himself surrounded. The truth is that the causes of the comparative failure of Christian missions to the Burmese lie deep in the nature of the national religion. A creed which recognizes no social castes, which holds all animal life sacred, which preaches a morality of which the high tone is illustrated by the singular purity of the national literature, and which teaches that for all alike good and evil are punished and rewarded with inflexible justice after death, is one which may well challenge those who preach against it to demonstrate clearly the superiority of that which they offer in its place. The Buddhist is unshaken in the faith which he has inherited, not only because it is the faith of his fathers and of his childhood, but because it is based on a foundation from which it cannot be shaken, except by bringing to bear a genius not less wonderful than that of its founder: and no nobler task could be assigned to the missionary of Christianity than to prove that such a genius does inspire the faith for which he asks the Buddhist to forsake the pure religion which he professes.

We began by looking at Burmah from the point of view of the young Indian Civilian appointed to a Province of which in its present state he probably knows little more than the name, and we may sum up, in conclusion, the distinguishing characteristics of which we have noticed in bare outline only those most obvious to a new comer. While all provinces of the Indian peninsula, widely as they differ from each other, have at least so much in common that they may be regarded as one country, the young official will find in Burmah, a Province which, excepting its form of Government, has nothing in common with the rest, whose climate and scenery are unique, whose people belong to another family of the human race, with other traditions, other ways of life and other religious beliefs.* He will find a Province many years in arrear of India as regards settled forms of administration, and he will be cut off from access to Indian capitals, from mountain sanatoria, and from many of the accompaniments of the civilized life of the West—though improved communications are rapidly removing this distinction, and to the steamboat and telegraph is now added the first railway, a railway of which we do not think it an impossible dream that its terminus may one day be in Canton. On the other hand, he will find himself among a people peculiarly attractive to the Englishman, in a climate pleasanter and (relaxing though it is) not less favourable as a rule to the European, than that of the plains of India, and amidst a scenery of which it is hardly too much to say that it is more varied and more wildly beautiful than that of any Indian Province.

In his daily routine of duty he will find enough need of pioneering to give scope for original talent, and enough of organized machinery to render administration easy. He will find himself, in short in a young and vigorous Province, of which the geographical situation, the nature and richness of its productions and the character of its people, alike seem to justify the prediction that it has a great future before it.

ART. V.—THE PHENICIAN ALPHABET.

- 2.—*Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'ancien monde.* Par François Lenormant. Paris: 1873.
- 2.—*Grammatography. A Manual of reference to the Alphabets of Modern and Antient Languages.* By F. Ballhorn. London: 1861.

WHAT is the Phenician Alphabet, and what does it concern us? Why trouble the reader with disquisitions on contorted strokes of the pen, and unintelligible inscriptions? How does the subject bear on the history of the human race? Much. Every way. The history of this alphabet is the golden thread which entwines itself with the long story of man's civilisation: it is at once subjectively the greatest triumph of the human mind, and objectively the vehicle by which the conquests in the domain of knowledge achieved in one generation have been handed on to the next. It is, perhaps, the greatest invention which the beneficent Creator has allowed to be wrought out by unassisted man: for the voice only reaches to the ear of the contemporary bystander; the written word extends to all time, and all place, and enables the early Egyptian by means of his pencillings on the temple and the rock to communicate with the people of this and all future ages.

The merest schoolboy of Macaulay knows the story of the importation of the Phenician letters into Greece, by an Epónym called Cadmus, a word of Semitic origin, and meaning "antient." Had history been silent on that subject, the fact of the resemblance of the characters, and of the Semitic names which, meaningless in Greek, clung to the letters, and are yet handed on to a deathless notoriety in the word "alphabet," could not have escaped notice. The order in which these letters were written, whether from right to left, or from left to right, is a detail of no importance. The Greeks commenced in the Semitic fashion, and then adopted the *boustrephedon*, or backward and forward system, and finally settled down to that practice which has been adopted by modern Europe. But the parentage of the Phenician Alphabet, and the history of its wonderful propagation East and West, so as to include every existing character in the world, except Chinese, and every obsolete form, except the Mexican and Proto-Babylonian Cuneiform systems, are not so well known. In this age of inquiry we are destined to know every

thing; and, as it is imputed as a grave charge against Professor Whitney of New Haven by Professor Max Müller of Oxford that he was actually ignorant of the great discovery of De Rouge as to the origin of the Phœnician Alphabet, and still clung to the old story that Aleph stood for "an ox" and Beth for a "house," it may not be unprofitable to lay before our readers a brief account of the history of Phonetic Alphabets, as now universally accepted.

However much scholars may argue and doubt whether the origin of *language* was human or divine, there can be no question that the origin of writing was essentially human; however much scholars may doubt whether language came from one and the same seed-plot, there can be no longer any with regard to *Phœnic* writing. A place is even found for Runes in the great pedigree, which we propose to unfold. There may be further secrets to discover, and strange facts to explain. We allude to the characters of Yucatan in America, and the hieroglyphics of Hamath in Syria, under the proper reserves; but with this exception we lay down as our principles that the art of writing must necessarily presuppose the existence of a language and a religion, of which it is the handmaid; that, as language commenced in monosyllabism, so the art of writing commenced in mere pictures, or representation of objects, and that the crowning triumph of the Phœnic idea of an alphabet to the exclusion of ideographs was due to the Phœnician alone.

It may be that the American citizen may talk with slight reverence and knowledge of the old world alphabet, and wish that he had a *tabula rasa*, that by a combination of squares, triangles, and circles, with suitable stars and stripes, he might derive such a representation of sound as would reflect all possible vocalizations and breathings, especially his own nasal twangs and the clicks of the Hottentot; but we must not forget those sages of ancient days who worked out the idea of expressing sound by symbol, and the ingenious problem of consonants, vowels and aspirates. Like a noble stream the grand old alphabet has flowed on, assuming varying dimensions, varying appearances, known by many names, used by many nations, and adapted to many uses and materials. Of the great benefactors of mankind, who has done so great a work as these Phœnician traders, who carried from the Nile to Sidon the germs of this wonderful invention, which is destined to outlive their most enduring colour, and throw into the shade their most unfading colours?

How, then, has it happened that there is such a diversity of character, so great that the notion of their having the same parentage appears at first sight monstrous? It appears incredible that the characters known as the Roman, the Arabic, and the

Nagari, should all be derived from the same source: and yet it can be proved beyond all doubt: the fact is that the succeeding deformations of writing are nearly always the result of a tendency to make writing more and more cursive, or in fact a running hand, influenced in certain cases by the material available for conveying and receiving the writing. For instance, the Cuneiform characters owe their shape to the necessity of impressing the forms with a stylus in soft clay, which did not allow of bends and circles: on the other hand the marked roundness of the characters in South India is owing to the contrary necessity of avoiding straight parallel lines, which were cut by a knife on palm branches liable to split under parallel incisions.

Moreover, the changes that in the course of centuries took place, happened in something of this way. A people at a particular period with a certain amount of cultivation, may have for some time made use of a particular kind of writing, borrowed by themselves, or their ancestors, from some other people. As writing became more familiar to them, and entered more deeply into their customs, being used by a larger number for secular purposes, they began to feel the want of an alphabet, which they could write more quickly; so they made modifications, and so modified, the character was handed over to another people, or another generation of the same people, under whose hands it was again manipulated; and it is utterly impossible to assign any limit to this tendency.

It is only during this century, and in fact during the last twenty years, that, by the discovery of monumental inscriptions and papyri, certainty has been arrived at on this subject: some links in the chain may perhaps be strengthened by further discovery, and there is still a gap of centuries, without any representative inscriptions, betwixt the Moabite stone, which is the earliest Phenician, and that hieratic papyrus, known as the Prissé of the twelfth Dynasty, which represents the form of the hieroglyphic, from which the Phenician was derived. Still the process of change and modification is well known, and handwriting, monumental or otherwise, can be traced century by century with absolute certainty and this is a great check on the emission of wild theories by half-informed persons on such subjects, as the date of the so-called Sinaitic inscriptions, which we shall notice in the course of these remarks under the same guide of scientific Palæography.

The book of M. Lenormant, which we place at the head of this paper, has appeared most opportunely: it is the first and only one of its kind. Without pretending to any new discoveries, it carefully epitomizes the works of others in a comprehensive and masterly manner: the extent of reading required to keep a firm step in such depths, is prodigious; the text is accompanied by plates illustrative of the varieties of character, as the narrative

rolls on, from the earliest dawn of literature down to the present state of alphabets in different quarters of the world.

In the second book noticed, the "Grammatography" published by Trübner on the basis of the German compilation of Ballhorn, we have excellent specimens of every alphabet, with brief remarks regarding their peculiar features; and in the publications of the London Palæographical Society we find magnificent copies of the oldest manuscripts rendered accessible by the autotype process. It is in this abundance of new material, and the faithful sun-copies of old material, that the Palæographer of modern times has the advantage of his predecessors.

It is possible of course that the Phenicians elaborated a phonetic system of their own, and did not borrow that of the Egyptians, but it is not probable: it is possible, that the Proto-Aryans of India elaborated a phonetic system of their own, but at any rate they have never asserted this fact, and no allusion to the long process of elaboration is found in their copious literature: it is possible that the Græco-Latins, the Teutons, the Slavs, and the Kelts, may have had alphabets antecedent and independent of the Phenician: it is not probable, and no traces have come down to us. The Runes and Ogham alphabet will be brought into the great Phenician category.

Some may still cling to the old legend, that the Phenicians took an ox to represent Aleph, because A is the capital letter of an antiquated Semitic word for "ox"; and similarly, house or tent "Beth" to represent B: the new view is that the symbol for A is the wreck of the figure of an eagle; and similarly, B of a crane, worn down by the gradual degradation of the hieratic letters from the original hieroglyphics. It is possible that the Phenicians so named them after adoption from some fanciful resemblance, but any actual structural connection is, according to the new theory, wholly illusory.

Another fact comes out in a marked way. The classification of alphabets runs entirely counter to the classification of languages: there is no necessary connection betwixt the alphabet and the race or religion.

In a subject such as this, it is necessary to go back to first principles, and availing ourselves of the late discoveries to ascertain the first possible invention of the art of writing; and following Lenormant, trace out the development through all its successive stages, showing how far other nations reached, and then stopped, how far the Egyptian had attained when the torch was seized out of his hand by the Phenician, and thence handed from nation to nation over the whole world.

Any system employed by men so as to give the expression of their ideas by *physical* signs, so as to communicate them in other

manner than by speech, and at the same time give a duration to such expression, is called "writing."

(2) Two main principles are found in every system :—

- I. Ideographism, or painting of *ideas*.
- II. Phonetism, or painting of *sounds*.

Ideographism again has two methods :—

- I. The representation of the actual object, e.g., *an ox*.
- II. The representation of a figure conventionalized to express an abstract idea, this is called symbolism, e.g., represented by a circle above a line—the rising sun.

Phonetism has two methods :—

- I. Syllabism representing by a single sign a syllable composed of an articulation or consonant which is mute by itself, and of a vocalization, or vowel, which gives it life and sound.
- II. Alphabetism, which decomposes the syllables and represents, by distinct sounds, consonants and vowels.

All systems commenced by ideographism, and gradually arrived at phonetism. This is of the essence of the human genius: the commencement was with the representation of the object, and the first step of advance was to symbolism. When they got to phonetism, the first stage was syllabism, and the last alphabetism.

The transition from pure ideographism to symbolism was rapid, as soon as the writer for the sake of speed, or from constant habit, allowed himself to trace a figure, which did not at first sight physically recall the object represented. Thus the *bond fide* figure of a man to represent a man in Egyptian hieroglyphics deteriorated more and more into a mere conventional sign in the Hieratic, and Demotic, which were kinds of cursive writing. We see the same process in the Cuneiform and Chinese characters. In fact hieroglyphics themselves at a certain stage became *conventional*: this is one fact.

Another fact is, that every system of writing can be traced back to pure ideographism more or less gross and clumsy.

A system of tallies, or knotted strings, can only be grouped with our present practice of tying a knot in one's handkerchief, a sort of mnemonic aid; but it is in no respect a writing, which is intended to be plain to all without the aid of memory of individuals, to whom the tradition is handed down orally.

There is a natural instinct in the human breast, which prompts a desire of man to communicate with his contemporaries and with his successors, in some material form. This instinct has evidenced itself at a very early date and everywhere: it shows

itself to this day in very young children. One nation at a certain stage of their civilisation borrowed from another. There are the following original systems :—

- I. Egyptian
- II. Chinese
- III. Cuneiform of Proto-Babylonia.
- IV. Mexican.
- V. Mayas of Yucatan:

All these systems made progress towards Phonetism without giving up ideographism ; and they stopped at different stages, which is a very interesting circumstance. There is no reason to imagine any inter-communication : they are all *natural developments*, just as children in every part of the world make the same kind of scrawls on their slates and drawing paper.

Symbolism of abstract ideas soon forced itself into use ; for a nation, civilised enough to require writing must have had *abstract* ideas, which required representation just as much as *material* objects.

“Synecdoche” suggested representation of a part for the whole : two hands armed and fighting represented “a combat” very much as the modern sign in our maps of crossed swords represents a battle-field.

“Metonymy” suggested the cause for the effect, representing “the day” by the sun ; “Sight,” by two pupils ; “writing,” by the implements of the scribe.

“Metaphor” suggested mental analogies according to prevailing ideas ; the goose of the Nile represented “a son” from the popular notion of the filial habits of that bird : “priority” was indicated by the fore part of a lion ; the bee represented the sovereign, because that insect has a regular monarchical government.

“Enigma :”—often very hard to guess (such as “*fleur de lis*” to represent the Prince of Wales)—a plume of ostrich feathers represented “justice” ; a palm branch stood for the year ; “a basket platted in reeds” represented a “lord.” The Egyptian, Chinese, and cuneiform systems followed similar processes. These are all *simple* symbols.

Complex symbols consist of the union of two or more ideas : thus the Egyptians represented,—

A month, by a moon and star.

Honey, by a bee over a vase.

Thirst, by a bull over water.

Night, by the firmament and one star.

This class of symbol is not very abundant in Egyptian, but very abundant indeed in cuneiform. Some of these last are partially, and some entirely, insoluble.

In Chinese such combinations made up the greater part of the written characters, and the elements of the two characters are blended and incorporated with each other. But in spite of the development above described, the necessity of expansion in another direction was found; this could only be by passing from ideographism to phonetism, to *painting sounds* as well as *painting ideas*.

Pure ideographic has an existence independent of all pronunciation. The *written* language was thus so distinct from the *spoken*, that one could understand the latter without knowing the former, and *vice versa*. But what is written is sure to be pronounced, and the habit soon commenced of translating literally the ideas suggested by the writing, into the vulgar language of the people. Thence was conceived the notion of phonetism. Every figurative or symbolic sign obtained gradually a fixed and habitual pronunciation; and the painter of sounds, whose work was now going to begin, found these elements ready to his hand.

The first step was the "rebus" or phonetic analogy: images, originally ideographic, had got attached to certain sounds, while images were borrowed without taking heed to their meaning, to represent the *same* sound in totally distinct words. Thus we see in our English Cathedral the name of the Bishop or Abbot designated by a rebus; for instance an animal, or thing was delineated, to present to the eye the sound of the name:

A "bull" would represent Bishop—Bull.

A "ram" represents Bishop—*Rumridge*

An "ash" growing in a "ton," represents "Ashton."

The Mexican hieroglyphic system got as far as the rebus on the march towards phonetism, and stopped there. Somehow or other they managed to represent the Creed and Lord's Prayer. It is interesting only as furnishing analogies for imagining the process, by which the other system got beyond this very contracted stage.

We see clear indications of this rebus stage in the cuneiform of the early Proto-Babylonian or Accadian period. Nothing but this will explain the existence of ideographic characters with so many significations totally unconnected with each other.

We find the same unmistakeable process in Egyptian. Both these two last characters advanced much further. But the Chinese, being a monosyllabic language, as soon as it reached the rebus stage, found itself at once in possession of phonetism. Every ideograph represented a *monosyllable*. As soon as a particular sound adhered to that ideograph from association, that sign became a phonetic sign, and at this stage of phonetism the Chinese remained stationary. In the art of painting sounds they

have never got further in thirty centuries: and this method was used only to render foreign proper names into Chinese.

In consequence of the nature of the Chinese language, the *simplest and most intelligible text written in phonetic signs, whether syllabic or alphabetic*, without the help of ideographs, *would be totally incomprehensible*. The method which this ingenious people have adopted to get out of this dilemma, lies outside the purport of a paper on the Phenician alphabet; it is effected by a selection of a limited number of characters to serve as phonetics, wholly independent of their original meaning, and by uniting each one of them with one of a still more limited number of characters called keys, analogues to the determinatives of the cuneiform and Egyptian systems.

What, then, was the further step which was taken by the authors of these two last systems? They had to deal with words composed of many syllables; and, to apply the principle of the rebus to such conditions, it was necessary to take as the phonetic power only the first *syllable* of the word, which in fact was the method adopted in the cuneiform system, or to make an advance still further and take the first *letter* of the word, as did the Egyptians. The principle of both manœuvres is the same, and may be called the acrological method.

When once the inventors of the cuneiform system had grasped the notion of substituting phonetism for ideographs, which was forced on their attention by the necessity of transliterating foreign proper names, they selected, at random, a certain number of characters, separated them entirely from their meaning, and by a gradually established convention made use of the first syllable, consisting of one, two, or three letters as the component parts of a syllabary; but the Assyrians never got rid of the use of ideographs, and although the Persians were able to work out on their monuments an alphabet pure, following the analogy of the Phenician character, which was used as the cursive, the system never took root, and died out with the Achæmenides. It is obvious that a syllabary is a most imperfect and clumsy arrangement, as every separate combination of a consonant with a vowel is represented by a separate character, and these mount up to a considerable and unmanageable number.

The Egyptians got as far as a syllabary, made use of syllables in addition to ideographs, and went on further, and decomposed the syllables, and established a pure alphabet. It seems nowadays a very simple stage to arrive at; but it was not so, and implies a great advance of the human mind in its powers of analysis and reflection. Every modulation is a vowel, and every articulation is a consonant, and it was an advanced conception to separate one from the other; and the fact, that the other systems crystal-

lized themselves without attaining to this stage, is an additional proof of the great step in advance which it indicates. It is a marvel that the union betwixt the Assyrian language and such a totally antipathetic written system as the Cuneiform syllabary, lasted so long; and we do, indeed, find traces of the use of the Phenician alphabet on some of the deeds of sale dug up at Nineveh. In the Egyptian language the vowels were, and were only, complementary to the structure of the word, the nature of which was mainly expressed by consonants. Thus by selecting the first letter of a word such as "Ahem" "an Eagle," a quasi-consonantal letter was arrived at, and an Eagle stood henceforward to represent that letter. The letter R was represented by the conventional picture of a "mouth," which was expressed in Egyptian by the word "ro"; L by a "Lion," "Lavo" in Egyptian; and so on. In this way an alphabet of twenty-five letters was conventionally arrived at, and it is a strange, but undoubted fact, that the Egyptian people had arrived at this solution of their difficulty as far back as the third dynasty, which date is expressed by moderate calculations as 4,000 B.C. In inscriptions of that date we find a moderate use of syllabic signs, a free use of alphabetic signs, accompanied always by ideographs as determinative of sense, or sound, or both. Thus a word was carefully spelt out phonetically, and then for greater accuracy, it was expressed by an ideograph, or conventional picture. This led to a great choice of expressions being available to the scribe. He could express such a word as "nufur," "good," by an ideograph alone, the well-known figure of "a lute," which was symbolical of goodness; or he could use that symbol to represent the first letter N, and spell out the letters F and R, or he could use a syllabic combination. If this system seem to be puzzling from one point of view, it is exceedingly helpful to the student from another. There were, however, always two great causes of difficulty; first, the use of homophones, for the alphabetical letters were represented by more than one symbol selected in the way above described; and secondly, there was the pernicious practice of using at discretion this very symbol in the original ideographic sense. It was always possible that the symbols of "the mouth" "the lion" did not mean the letters R or L, but the objects themselves. This was the radical and pervading error over which we shall see that the more fortunate Phenicians triumphed, alone among the *antient* nations of the world.

We use the word *antient* designedly, for strange to say, in Central America we have come upon unmistakeable evidence of the independent existence of an alphabetic system, worked out by the Mayas of Yucatan, a people at a very low level of civil-

zation and conquered by the Spaniards. There could have been no possible contact with the civilisations of the Old World, and yet we find under the irresistible logic and natural tendencies of the human mind, the same courses of ideographs, syllabaries and alphabetic letters traversed, in a rude and humble mode, and arrested at the same point, to which the highly cultivated Egyptians arrived. This strange people had arrived at the conception of an alphabet, but could not free themselves from the past, and fix conventionally and for ever, one single symbol for every articulation to the exclusion of every other. And until this wall of separation was crossed, it was hopeless to expect that the art of writing would subserve the every-day wants of human life, and be available to the unlettered classes.

Of all the nations of antiquity the one most ready to adopt new ideas, and convey her own stores of acquired knowledge to other countries was the Phœnician. They were most favourably situated for communication with Asia, Africa, and Europe, coming into close contact with the ancient civilisation on the Nile, the Euphrates, and Tigris, and holding commercial intercourse with the Red Sea, and the shores of the Mediterranean. Their habits of life made them liberal in sentiment, and familiar with other languages than their own. The necessity of some convenient method of writing, must have forced itself on their notice, as they could not be unaware of the non-existence of any system among the tribes of Europe, and the extremely cumbrous and unpractical systems of Egypt and Mesopotamia; of the systems of China and Mexico they could have known absolutely nothing. Their choice was therefore very limited, when they looked about, ready to adopt, and adapt, what was worth having in their neighbours. It was all very well to tolerate ideographs and polyphones in documents very much relating to the future world, such as the Book of the Dead, or in monumental inscriptions; but the pressing wants of commerce called for a very different medium. The Phœnicians have come down to us in an unfavourable light from the persistent and unmerited abuse heaped upon them by their cousins in race the Hebrew people, who by the survival of their books amidst the wreck of the literature of the antient world, have got the ear of posterity. The Phœnicians were Nature-worshippers in one of its many forms, neither better nor worse than the Greeks and Romans, and at any rate they were free from the hateful vice of religious intolerance. Their mighty colony in North Africa suffered a hard fate at the hand of the unsympathetic Romans, and scarcely a vestige of Punic literature has come down to us, and the Phœnician character is only represented by a few inscriptions, but those of inestimable value. It is a fact not devoid of significance that the Hebrew people, with all

their literary opportunities at Nineveh, Babylon, and in Egypt, have scarcely left one scrap of monumental inscription. The Kings of Israel and Judah may have been of importance, but their tombs have supplied us with no indications of the character used. No papyrus, no brick, no inscribed stone of the temple, no "stele" to record victories, or mercies, or the law, has gladdened the eyes of the excavator in Palestine. And this is the more remarkable, when we compare their monarch, not with the great sovereigns of the Nile and Euphrates valleys, but with the petty Phœnician Kings of Moab and Sidon, who will now come under our notice.

Classical antiquity gave the Phœnicians the credit of a *bonâ-fide* invention: the lines of Lucan are well known and place this assertion in the strongest light:—

Phœniceæ præni famæ si credider, ausi
Mausuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.
Nondum flumines Memphis contexere biblos:
Noverat: et saxis tantum volucresque feraeque
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.

Such was the belief of the Augustan age. Sound criticism had not taught them to inquire. It was assumed that the Egyptian hieroglyphics only represented pictures; and it was strangely forgotten that the names of Cleopatra, Ptolemy, Augustus, and a long succession of Roman autocrats, were spelt out phonetically on the monuments of Egypt. It was not known that a vast literature of every kind, written on papyrus in characters mainly phonetic, was entombed in the cemeteries on each side of the Nile.

Even then Tacitus doubted, and remarks, "Phœnicas intulisse litteras Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos, *tamquam reperuerint*, quas acceperant," pointing to Egypt as the cradle of the invention. The doubts of the great historian have been shared by modern times. The notion that the Phœnicians had an ideographic system of their own, all traces of which have perished, and left only the names of the letters as the faint indication of its existence, is now exploded. It is admitted on all sides that the invention must be traced back to Egypt, but the question remained insoluble as to the period and particular variation of the cursive Egyptian, which supplied the model to the Phœnician.

The comparison has to be made on the most rigorous principles.

I. The oldest possible Phœnician document must be taken:—

In the Moabite Stone we have fortunately a specimen of Phœnician writing in the eighth century before the Christian era.

II. A papyrus in the hieratic character of a date anterior to that of the Moabite Stone must be the other subject of comparison.

III. Only those symbols must be selected which in the papyrus were used strictly alphabetically.

IV. Where the symbols agree in shape, it must be ascertained that the sounds in both languages agreed also.

V. Where the symbols did not exactly agree, the circumstances, which caused the modification, must be traced out.

To all students of Egyptian language and history, it is well known, that there are two distinct periods known as the Antient and New Empire, respectively, separate by a gulf of unknown dimensions, known as the Hyksos period. The form of the hieratic or cursive character used during these two periods, is perfectly distinct, and is recognizable at first sight. The representative of the elder form is the celebrated Papyrus Prissè, the most ancient book in the world; and, strange to say, the subject of this primeval volume is a moral treatise, in which an aged sage, at that remote pre-Mosaic period, is lamenting over the deterioration of the character of the youth of his day, and alluding to good old days long before. We had the privilege of examining this venerable papyrus a few weeks ago in the National Library of Paris. Independently of its other interesting features, it is satisfactorily proved by M. de Rouge, that in the character used in the ancient papyrus, we have the prototypes of the archaic letters of the Phœnician alphabet, as found on the Moabite Stone; though, be it never forgotten, that the papyrus, frail as the materials are of which it is composed, is, at the least, one thousand years older than the stone. The Hieratic characters of the New Empire have been modified in one direction, and the Phœnician in another, and it is only by ascending to the remote date above mentioned, that we arrive at a possible common parent to both.

Fifteen letters out of a total of twenty-two of the Phœnician alphabet are so little changed as to be recognizable at once. The remainder can be traced back by bearing in mind certain unfailling laws which regulate the modification of letters. It is impossible in these brief remarks to follow out the close and accurate reasoning which has established this famous historical position. The letters were adopted with the sounds already attached to them in old Egyptian. Thus, to Egypt, Phœnicia was indebted for the idea of an alphabet, for the symbols and their sounds. This is now one of the admitted truths of Palæography. We are compelled to believe, that the names assigned by the Phœnicians to their letters were purely arbitrary, as in no single case does the name represent accurately the object which was originally depicted in the hieroglyphic and worn down into the early hieratic: we must conclude that the names were given at a period greatly posterior to the introduction of the character from Egypt, when all tradition of the original figures represented had died out. In assigning these names the principle of acrology was followed inversely; for, whereas in Egypt the "eagle" had been adopted as the symbol of A,

because "Ahom" began with that letter and meant an eagle: so the worn down symbol, which no longer resembled an eagle, but was the recognised representative of A, was called "Aleph," because the word, which meant an ox, commenced with that letter, and that letter in the form to which it had been worn down had a fancied and forced resemblance to an ox's head. Strange to say the same phenomenon was repeated, when in process of time the Rune alphabet of Northern Europe was elaborated from a much modified and no longer recognizable Phenician. New names were arbitrarily assigned to them by the Norsemen from fancied resemblances to material objects. New names were also assigned to letters of the Latin alphabet, when it was introduced into Ireland, from most fanciful reasons.

It may therefore, in conclusion, be reasonably believed, that the origin of the Phenician alphabet may be carried back to the period of the occupation of Egypt by the Semitic tribes, known as the Hyksos, who, whoever they were, came from the East. This great antiquity once established for the Phenician alphabet agrees well with the fact that Moses is presumed to have used it for reducing to writing the Pentateuch, and found in it a character differing in degree, but not in nature and principle, from the cursive character, to which he had been accustomed while he was studying all the wisdom of the Egyptians. We proceed to show that this character was not only the *only* alphabetic organ of speech worked out by human intelligence, but can be proved to be the lineal parent of every one of the numberless and discordant pure Phonetic alphabets of the world. M. Lenormant, in the book under review, follows gratefully the path struck out by many distinguished paleographers in different parts of the field but claims to himself the honour to be the first who has treated it as a whole. In this consists the amazing grandeur of the subject.

From the great Phenician root, which we have in the preceding pages shown to be the offspring of Egyptian seed, sprung up nearly simultaneously five great stems, from each of which shot off at intervals numerous branches. To understand the subject we must note the stems and branches in detail, and mark the distinguishing feature.

1.—The Semitic stem, in which the value of the sounds attached to the symbol has remained identical with that of the Phenicians, with some very few exceptions. For this stem there are two main families,

(a) The Hebrew-Samaritan, consisting of two branches only:—

- 1.—The old Hebrew found on stones and coins.
- 2.—The Samaritan.

(b) The Aramean with numerous branches :—

- 1.—The Palmyrean.
- 2.—The Paraphylian.
- 3.—The square Hebrew character so well known.
- 4.—The Estranghelo, or ancient Syriac, which is the parent of the later Syriac alphabet, called the Peschite, the Mongol, Mandchu, and Tartar alphabet of high Asia.
- 5.—The Sabcean or Mendaite.
- 6.—The Auranite, or character Howran.
- 7.—The Nabatean, from which have sprung the far famed Cufic, and the Neskhy, used all over Arabia, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and India, and known as the Arabic.
- 8.—The Puhlevi in its various forms.
- 9.—The Zend and its derivatives, the Armenian and Georgian.

II.—The Central stem, in which the soft and hard breathings of the Phenician have been converted into vowels. This comprehends the alphabet which Cadmus is said to have brought into Europe, and Palamedes at the time of the Trojan war to have perfected.

It must be remembered that the Greek alphabet after it left the hands of its fashioner, divides itself into four branches to a certain extent co-ordinate with its dialectical divisions.

- 1.—The Eolo-Doric, from which sprung the Albanian, the Phrygian, the Lycian, and other characters of Asia Minor : the Etruscan, and old characters of Italy : the Latin and the great character of the Modern World.
- 2.—The Attic.
- 3.—The Greek of the islands.
- 4.—The Ionic ; from which sprang what is known as Antient and Modern Greek.

III.—The Western stem. The way in which the letters are modified is fundamentally different from that of the central stem ; it comprises only the forms of writing generated by the Phenician alphabet, handled by the aborigines of Spain.

IV.—The Northern stem. It is asserted that the great Teutonic race migrated at an historic period from Asia into Europe, and brought with them the Runic symbols, which they

ad formed upon the basis of the Phenician alphabet, with which it is presumed that they had communication. It is not attempted to conceal the extreme narrowness of the hypothesis, upon which this structure is raised; all depends on the proofs brought forward. The Runes sub-divide themselves into two branches.

1.—Scandinavian, from which is descended—

- (a) The Anglo-Saxon characters, by combination with the Latin alphabet.
- (b) The Mæso-Gothic of Ulfilas, by a combination with the Greek alphabet.

2.—Slavonic, from which is descended

- (a) The Glagolitic character.
- (b) The great Cyrillic alphabet, parent of the Russian and Bulgarian, by a combination with the Greek alphabet.
- (c) The Wendic.

In this sub-division of the subject, the author discusses the antient graphic systems of the Kelts in Ireland before they adopted the Latin alphabet, including the Ogham character and the Euse. But the connection of these last, with the stem seems to be more that of analogy than of affiliation.

V.—Indo-Arabian stem. A new feature appears in the formation of the characters of this stem. The notation of the vowels is formed by conventional appendages to the symbol used for consonants, and by which, in many cases, the appearance of the consonant is modified. It has two main branches:—

- 1.—The Himyarite, used in South Arabia, from which sprang the two forms of the Ethiopian, the Ghez and Amharic, on the other side of the Red Sea.
- 2.—The Indian, including all the characters by whatever name known of the antient Asoka inscriptions, the modern Aryan and Non-Aryan vernaculars of India, the Tibetan, and its derivatives, the Malay and Indo-Chinese, the Pali, Sinhalese, and Javanese.

Wide as is the extent, wider still is the amount of controversy imported into the subject. No subject is more exposed to illusions and errors, unless certain principles are rigidly adhered to. The investigation must be based upon historical proofs; the date of each document must be ascertained, and all possible relation of one alphabet to another must be based on historical epochs thus constituted. Unless it can be shown, or fairly assumed, that there has been communication, direct or indirect, betwixt two people, all speculations as to the connection of

their written character are idle, and any resemblance betwixt written characters, at periods of many centuries apart, should be regarded with suspicion.

M. Lenormant enters at very great length on the subject of the primitive Phenician and its early derivatives. The chief remnants of this famous alphabet, are firstly those objects the date of which ranges from 1000 to 700 B. C.; as the Moabite stone, the lion-shaped weights of bronze found at Nineveh, the cylinders, scarabæi, and cones found at Nineveh and Babylon, certain inscriptions found in the Phenician settlements of Malta and Sardinia. It must have been in this period that this primitive alphabet gave off its great Western branch of Greek and Latin, and its great Eastern branch, parent of the Indian alphabet. In the second period, the dates of which range from 700 to 600 B. C., are the interesting gems found amidst the ruins of Nineveh, and the remarkable inscriptions upon the colossal statue of Rameses at Abou Simbul in Upper Egypt. These are unquestionably the scratchings of some Phenician legionaries of King Psammetichus, and near them are scratchings by Greek and Carian members of the same force in their peculiar characters. How little did these rude soldiers think that they were leaving a visiting card of priceless value upon a distant posterity. Greek inscriptions are indeed found which go back to the eighth or ninth century before the Christian era. In the next period, dating from 600 B. C., is the grand tomb of King Eshmunazar, now in the Louvre collection, with the longest inscription upon it. It is clearly of Egyptian workmanship, and was brought to Sidon for the tomb of the monarch: after this came many inscriptions of certain dates. Certain variations in the shape of the letters is marked by skilled eyes. This venerable alphabet was the common property of all the Semitic population of Syria. Its earliest derivative was the ancient Hebrew, known to us by the so-called Asmonean coins, some of which may be carried back to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. In this character the books of the Old Testament, of a date earlier than the Captivity, were written; it differed but little from the primitive Phenician, and scarcely at all from the Samaritan, in which copies of the Pentateuch exist to the present day; but it so happened that no later alphabets can be traced back to this stock: nothing has survived the wreck of ages of the old Hebrew alphabet, such as was used by Moses, David and Isaiah; but in the Moabite stone we come face to face with a venerable witness of what that alphabet very much resembled.

The Aramean variation of the Phenician began to show itself in the seventh century, and the history of its development is marvellous. The destruction of Nineveh buried alive, and kept to all times, specimens of this character in the bilingual

tablets found there, and concerning the date of which there can be no doubt. We find deeds of sale of slaves and land drawn up in Assyrian cuneiform, and docketed in the Aramean character of the Phenician family. It would be tedious to follow the descent of this character through all its stages, but about 500-60 B. C. we come on the majestic square character of the modern Hebrew.

The most ancient manuscript in this character now in existence does not date back beyond the ninth century of the Christian era; but by the help of inscriptions it can be traced much further back through all its modifications. The most ancient is on the so-called tomb of St. James at Jerusalem, and the direct affiliation of this alphabet is to the particular development of the Aramean, known as that of the Papyrus. M. Lenoir asserts that the common story, that Ezra brought back this character from Babylon, on the return from the Captivity, is an error; there is reason to believe that Ezra used both the Aramean characters and language, when Hebrew and its old character became obsolete among the Jews, though the Samaritans clung to, or adopted it. Even the expression used by our Lord, that one jot or tittle should not pass away, would apply with equal justice to the Aramean as to the square Hebrew, and upon independent grounds the opinion is arrived at, that this character was in use at the time of our Lord's ministry. In fact these were the characters which He used for reading and writing the Syro-Chaldee vernacular of the province, which was vulgarly, though incorrectly, called the Hebrew.

The absence of vowels, properly so called, left the pronunciation and the meaning of many words very uncertain, for the tense and mood often depended upon the vocalization which had to be guessed at. Phenician inscriptions are still in this state of obscurity. As the language of the sacred books became dead, the necessity of some remedy to this great evil became necessary and this was attempted by a system of punctuation in the Hebrew, Syriac, and other languages of this family. At length in the celebrated Masoretic punctuation, the traditional pronunciation was recorded by a complete and elaborate system, devised or perfected by the schools of Tiberias or Babylon about 600 years after the Christian era.

It is unnecessary to add that, upon every point regarding every date, there is a conflict of opinion among learned scholars. So much new material has come unexpectedly to light during this generation, that years must pass away before, amidst conflicting theories, a platform of accepted truth can be constructed.

From this same Aramean family struck off another prolific branch, which attained for itself, in connection with Christianity, the same reputation which the square Hebrew character has with the religion of the Jews; we allude to the Syriac. This form can

be traced back to the first century before Christ and the town of Edessa, the head-quarters of the Jacobite sect of Christianity. The earlier development of this character was known as the Estranghelo, for which word a fanciful derivation is put forward as the "Sutur Angél," or the "writing of the Gospel." At any rate, it was to the service of religion that it was most entirely devoted and lasted till 800 of the Christian era : the chief feature of this and other characters of this branch is that the letters were linked together. The Estranghelo was gradually restricted to Church manuscripts, and gave way in ordinary use to the more cursive form of Syriac, known as Peshito.

Interneine quarrels about minute dogmatic points caused the expulsion of Nestorius from the Catholic Church, and the foundation of the Chaldean Church within the limits of the Persian kingdom which, after great vicissitudes, has lasted down to the present day. The written character, which the Nestorians took with them at the time of their secession, and during their long separation, owing to war and political causes, they conserved faithfully : they knew nothing of the modifications which took place in the Syriac of a later date than the Estranghelo ; but, as time went on, the same causes operated, and they adopted gradually a cursive script of their own, known as the Chaldean or Nestorian. This branch of the Christian Church, at a remote period, spread to India, and left their character as an imperishable memorial with the members of the primitive Christian Church in Malabar, who use Malayalim, a Dravidian language, written to this day with the Nestorian alphabet adapted to express the unrepresented sounds by the loan of Malayalim letters, a conjunction of dissonant and impossible elements, the idea of which would have been discarded but for the unerring testimony of history and palæography.

On the other hand the use of the Syriac language and its alphabets has long since died out in the countries which gave it birth. Modern Syrians speak and write Arabic : the Syriac is a dead tongue and obsolete alphabet, the store-house of vast theological treasures, and the vehicle of old-world liturgies. By a strange fatuity the Syrian Christians, even to this day, from hatred to the character associated with Muhammadanism, refuse to use the Arabic letters for their religious treatises, but make use of Syriac letters to convey sentences in the Arabic language. They call this mongrel character Karshouni, which name is also applied to the equally mongrel character of the Nestorian Christians of Malabar.

But the Nestorian variety of the Syriac alphabet was destined to a far greater expansion, and to a grander duty. The history of the Nestorian missionaries to the east of Asia is well known

in Estranghelo, and the famous Syro-Chinese Christian inscription at Si-ngau-fon, in the Middle kingdom of China, is a fact that cannot be got over. The gift of Christianity, which the Nestorians gave to the Tartars of High Asia, has been a barren one. Of the seed, some fell upon dry ground and did not take root; but those devoted priests gave a priceless gift in adapting their alphabet to the Tartar languages. This happened in historic times, and is a fact established beyond the cavil of critics; and is interesting as a repetition of a similar order of events which took place, when centuries before the Greeks and Romans accepted the Phœnician character, then in its youth, for their unsympathising vocables. Moreover it is one of those national revenges, which haughty Time brings about. More than thirty centuries before the Non-Aryan races occupying Mesopotamia had elaborated a clumsy system of syllables, and ideographs, which we call cuneiform, on the basis of an agglutinating language; this the proud Semitic Assyrians of Nineveh had blindly adopted, and now we find the Semites repaying hundredfold the loan, by imparting to the Turks and Tartar inhabitants of the Asiatic steppes, the great secret of the Phœnician alphabet.

The Tartars had previously only a system of tallies, analogous to the twisted cords of the Chinese and the Mexicans, and the devices used by the Scandinavian and Slavonic races before they arrived at the conception of the runes. The eastern hordes of the Tartars adopted a syllabary based on the Chinese, called the Khitan: the western, more fortunately for themselves, through the Nestorian missionaries, found themselves in possession of an alphabet which suited their language. The first tribe that adopted it was the Onigour, but it became the official character of the descendants of Genghiz Khan, and the heritage of the Mongols and Manchus. They introduced vowel sounds, and they wrote in lines vertically from the top to the bottom of the page, and not horizontally, as in the case of other Phœnician derivatives, as far as we know them, though the hazardous assertion is made, that some of these were sometimes written vertically.

The Onigour alphabet, as originally constituted, consisted of only fourteen consonants and three vowels, an apparatus insufficient for the requirements of the more civilised Mongols after they had received the Buddhist religion from Tibet, with its accompaniment of Sanskrit works and words rendered into the all but monosyllabic Tibetan. Attempts were made by king and priest at one time to introduce into the debateable ground of Mongolic a new alphabet based upon Tibetan, itself the offspring of Sanskrit; but the popular feeling was in favour of the Onigour, which was expanded by additions so as to respond to all Mongol sounds

and the Sanskrit words of the Buddhist books. Thus was formed the Mongol alphabet. It is interesting to remark the struggle with each other in this remote region of the distant and faint vibrations of the three great civilizations of the Semites, Aryans, and Chinese. If the first supplied the written character, the second furnished the religion, and the last its type of culture, while no change was made in the agglutinating language, which was the heirloom of the great family of High Asia.

Nor did the extent of the gift of the Nestorians end with the Onigour Turks, and the Mongols. To the North of this latter people, dwell the Calmuk Tartars, who in due course borrowed the character with slight modifications. At a period also beyond the ken of the historian the most Eastern dwellers on the Continent of Asia, the Mandchus, speaking a language belonging to the Tungusic branch of the great agglutinating family, adopted the Mongol alphabet; but as would be expected the potent influence of their great neighbor, the Chinese, with their monosyllabic ideographs has made itself felt upon the shape of many of the letters, while it has supplied the greater part of its literature. Such a character as that of the Chinese is so unsuitable to an agglutinating language, that it has never held its own against the Nestorian character on its northern, or the Nagari character along its eastern frontier. Had the Mandchu character been established at the time when Japan looked out for a phonetic system, it would have been preferred to the syllabic adaptation of Chinese, which that ingenious people devised for themselves. Whether the Koreans derived their alphabet from the Chinese, or from the Nagari, by a succession of intermediaries, is still only to an imperfect knowledge an open question:—Failing that, we have followed the Phenician alphabet across the whole breadth of Asia, and justified the assertion, that wherever the system of any people is proved to be alphabetic, it must be of Phenician origin.

There was a third co-sharer of the great inheritance of the Semites, besides the speakers of Hebrew and Syriac: this was the Arabian, who devised for himself a separate development of the Phenician alphabet; and, committing to it the burning doctrines of a new religion, gave it such power that it spread from the columns of Hercules to the banks of the Ganges, and drove out before it all the pre-existing characters in Western Asia and North Africa, except the Armenian.

To connect this celebrated Alphabetic system with the Phenician we must retrace our steps to that development of that alphabet, which is known as the tertiary Aramean or Palmyrean. The first step was the alphabet of Howran the Trans-Jordan Provinces of Syria; this is known to us by monuments, and from

this descended the Nabatæan alphabet of Edan, the existence of which can be traced back to the Christian era, and of which the remarkable monuments have come down to us in the inscriptions of the Wadi-al-Mukattib in the peninsula of Sinai. Some authors have not escaped the tempting snare of supposing that these inscriptions were the handiwork of the Israelites during their forty years' wanderings in the desert. It is true, as stated above, that it is possible that Moses made use of the Phœnician alphabet which, at a date previous to the Exodus, had been formed out of the hieratic of the old kingdom of Egypt. But that Phœnician alphabet had gone through many stages of modification, before it reached the particular state in which it meets our eye in these rock-inscriptions, the date of which can be fixed on palæographical grounds with as much certainty as a skilled scholar would fix the date of an Anglo-Saxon document; and it is now a received fact of science, that these inscriptions belong to a period not earlier than the second, or later than the fifth century of the Christian era. The feature of this class of character is the tendency to unite the consonantal vowels to the preceding letter, and in these inscriptions, which are the work of several generations, we can trace the progress of this tendency.

There are two great varieties of the Arabic alphabetical system; (1), the "Cufic;" (2), the "Neskhy." The origin of the former name can be traced back to the town of Cufa on the Euphrates; of the latter to an Arabic word, meaning to "transcribe." The former of these two characters has been obsolete since the fourteenth century of the Christian era; but during the previous five centuries it was extensively used both for manuscripts and inscriptions. The chief feature of both characters is that the letters of each word are connected with each other, and most of them possess an initial, medial, and final variety. The Cufic character has been used in exaggerated forms for the decoration of Muhammadan buildings. The Neskhy appears sometimes with diacritical points, and sometimes without; and in the many countries where it is used, has degenerated into most slovenly and often most unreadable cursive forms, familiar to every one who has had to transact business in India. It is probable that no alphabetical system past or present, not even the great Roman alphabet, has done so much for the advancement of the civilisation of unlettered races as the Neskhy.

The Arabs themselves, whose intellectual range did not extend beyond their peninsula, had various traditions as to the origin of their alphabet. Some bolder spirits attributed it to Adam, and asserted that he wrote upon clay, and baked it to enable it to survive the Deluge. More moderate theologians attribute

the invention to Ishmael: and after him one "Moramur" is the centre of a great tradition. What Cadmus was to the Greeks, and Ezra to the Hebrews, this Moramur is to the Arabs; no doubt only an eponym. His date was anterior to that of Mahomet by only two centuries according to the same tradition, and the art must have been well established from the Koran from the fact of the celebrated poems, the 'Mualakat' being suspended at Mecca before the Hegira. The use of writing to record the chapters of the Koran on parchment and other materials, is well established; whether by the hand of Mahomet himself or not, is uncertain. On the subject of the priority of age of the Cufic and the Neskhy there is much to be said, and it lies outside the purport of this paper: it is sufficient to note that both one and the other are derivatives of the Nabathean, which we have described above.

We have thus reached the limits of the Semitic family of languages, who all adopted early forms of the Phenician alphabet. Space is wanting to us to follow out further the progress of this Alphabet, when it passed into the hands of an Aryan people and re-appears in the form of Pahlavi, Zend, Armenian and Georgian of the great Iranian family, which complete the ample proportions of the great Semitic stem.

In passing to the third or central stem, and the fifth or northern stem, we find ourselves on familiar ground, or at least amidst familiar names. The thoughts that breathe, the words that burn, the ideas that shake mankind, the orders that dethrone monarchs, the laws that revolutionize empires, are clothed in the alphabets of the third and fifth stem: the fourth stem is only of palæographical interest, and utterly insignificant. If the Greeks had a previous alphabet, it must have been indeed a very bad one, since they could be induced to give it up, and adapt to their use the uncongenial Phenician alphabet, so foreign to the genius of their language. However, they did adopt it, and wrote from right to left, and then both ways, and then from left to right. Two main divisions are distinctly traced—the East and the West; the most important of the latter was that of the Chalcidian colonies of Sicily and the west coast of Italy, because from this germ sprang the great tree, which now overshadows Europe, America, and Australasia, and is known as the Roman character. Of the Italian alphabets there were two varieties the first was represented by the Etruscan, Oscan, and Umbrian the second by the Latin and Faliscan. Strange to say all of these, except the Latin, were written from right to left but the earliest records of the Latin alphabet show it as written from left to right. The Latins showed their independence by rejecting the Greco-Phenician names of the letters. Wit

them the vowels were known by their sounds only. And for the consonants a new principle was referred to: they were divided into momentary and continuous, according to the more or less complete closure and opening of the organs required in each case. Momentary sounds were denoted by their own sound followed by a vowel, as *be, ce, de, &c.*: the continuous sounds were preceded by a vowel, as *ef, el, en, &c.* Thus with new names, and one or two additional letters the great Latin alphabet, forgetful of its *Ægypto-Phenico-Grecian* origin, went forth conquering and to conquer. One wafting has come down to us in the lately deciphered Cypriote inscriptions of a syllabic alphabet, which is neither Greek nor Phenician, expressing words in a peculiar dialect of Greek.

In the fifth stem we strike a new vein, and come face to face with new phenomena. It is quite clear that the Teutons had elaborated some kind of alphabet for themselves, which are known as *Runes*. The word is derived from the Anglo-Saxon term for "a secret," and was mixed up with ideas of magic arts and heathen rites. When the time came that Christianity got the upper hand, the introduction of a new alphabet was made an essential symbol of conversion. There were three kinds of *Runes*, Anglo-Saxon, German, and Scandinavian. We cannot suppose that the Germans in their rude manner, being without arts, literature, or rudimentary civilisation, worked out for themselves, unassisted, the great problem of a pure alphabet, which the refined Semites, and sharp-witted Greeks palpably borrowed from others, who had worked out each step by a slow process. It is easier, more convenient to reason, to suppose that the Phenician navigator in his commercial dealings with those rude tribes conveyed to them the idea, which they fashioned in their imperfect manner. Even when superseded by their powerful Latin rival, the Anglo-Saxon *Runes* left their mark in the new alphabet in the shape of special letters to express unrepresented sounds. This was in the seventh century of the Christian era; but in the fourth century *Ulfilas* had already devised a Gothic alphabet by an adaptation of the Greek alphabet, of which we have a precious specimen in the copy of the Gospels at *Upsala*. Of his alphabet some letters are unmistakeably Greek, others are common to the *Runic* and Greek system, but if they were *Runic* they have been modified in form. This is the early alphabet of the German nation.

Five hundred years later another alphabet sprang to existence also on the banks of the Danube. This is known as the *Cyrillic*, having been formed by two Greek monks of Constantinople, *Cyril* and *Methodius*, who introduced Christianity among the Slavs. The Russians, Bulgarians, and other members of the great Slavonic

family have adopted this character, which is destined to play a part in the history of the world only inferior to the Latin and Arabic characters. The elements of the alphabet are Greek with additional signs, apparently of arbitrary origin. Here also religious differences have been felt. The ancient colony of Trajan on the Danube, known in ancient times as Dacia, and in modern times as Roumania, had adopted the Cyrillic alphabet; but in these last days, remembering their Roman origin, Romanic language, and Roman Catholic religion, they have made a violent change, and definitely adopted the Roman character. On the other hand the Illyrians and Croatsians, subjects of Austria, and professing the Roman Catholic religion, persist in the use of the Latin alphabet. The origin of a second Slavonic alphabet, known as the Glagolitic is a subject of controversy.

Last on the list is the Indo-Arabian stem. It is a subject worthy of, and large enough for, separate treatment in the pages of a periodical consecrated to Indian subjects, and we should be glad to see it handled by the accomplished author of the elements of South-Indian Palæography. The President of the Oriental Congress of London, in 1874, remarked that the Sanskrit and its congeners were not monumental languages, as no inscription in an Indian dialect has been found of a date so old as 400 years before the Christian era, which is a comparatively modern date in the annals of inscriptions. It may be remarked, as far as our knowledge now extends, no Aryan nation has invented an alphabet, and it is a problem yet to be solved which is the oldest Aryan form of an adopted alphabet. Experienced Palæographers are at direct issue on the subject of the affiliation of Indian alphabets, though there appears to be a consensus in favour of Phœnician origin. It is a question whether the precious gift came by sea to Southern India and then found its way northward; or by land to Northern India, and then found its way southward. The great fact stands out of the existence of the North Asoka alphabet at Kapurdi Giri in Peshawur, and the South Asoka alphabet in numerous places, and the Vatteluttic in Southern India. There we must leave it, believing that the time is at hand for some certain issue being arrived at.

We have thus completed our historical survey, and connected, by an unbroken chain of affiliation, the early Hieroglyphics of the Third Dynasty, the oldest specimens of writing in existence, with those characters which are used for every-day purposes by Christian, Muhammadan, Hindu, and a large number of Buddhists, all over the world. Were we to approach this subject on the phonetic side, and to attempt to explain the merits or deficiencies of each alphabet, volumes, not the few pages allotted to such a paper as this, would be required. It is an astounding fact that

man, though apparently of uniform appearance, differs materially in his vocal powers, not only in different climates, but in different nationalities: it is too large a subject to be more than briefly noticed. Each nation has its particular sounds, and is marked by the absence of particular sounds, and in the same nations the mode of pronunciation changes, as do the grammatical forms, at different periods. Upon any other subject the remedy might be possible. Laws and religions and the calendar may be reformed; but no nation has as yet shown sufficient strength of mind to cut the cord which connects it with the past, acknowledge manfully the failing of its system of writing, of the entire insufficiency of the alphabet to express its sounds, and adopt a new phonetic system.

It is obvious that the alphabet, when adopted by one nation, had been fashioned for the sounds of another. It was a mere makeshift to start with. Thus the Assyrians with their inflectional language adopted the cuneiform character of the Proto-Babylonians, which had been devised for an agglutinating language. The Japanese have tried to utilise the Chinese characters, based on monosyllabism, to their agglutinating words. The Phenicians with their inflectional words on the Semitic type adopted the mere outlines of hieroglyphics based on Khamism, and handed it on to the Indians, Persians, Greeks, and Latins, and a host of descendants, who inflected their words on the Aryan type. For some sounds symbols were wanting; for others they were in redundancy; but no European nation after it has arrived at self-consciousness has ventured to re-cast the alphabet, or even materially alter the order of the letters. In India some bolder spirits at some uncertain period ventured upon this manoeuvre, and with such success, that the great Devanāgarī alphabet stands out as the most systematic and complete. The Arabs re-cast the order of their alphabet, and additions were made by the Persians, when they adopted it, and by the Indians and Turks as it spread onward East and West.

It is not uninteresting to note briefly the number of letters in certain selected alphabets.

The Egyptian language was considered by the Hamitic section of the Oriental Congress of 1874 to have twenty-five letters, including certain consonantal vowels.

The Phenician is understood to have had twenty-two. The Hebrew of the same family has twenty-three: the Syriac twenty-two: the Arabic rises to twenty-eight. When it is said that the Semitic alphabet had no vowels, this is not entirely correct, as obviously they had Aleph, Wau and Jodh; but these are capable consonants to indicate vowel sounds: they are sometimes called vowel-consonants, and sometimes expressed and sometimes

omitted. It had been assumed that they only appeared in later manuscripts, but we find them in the Moabite Stone, and we know as a fact, that the vowels were represented by these feeble consonants.

The Sanskrit has thirty-nine consonants, and a whole array of vowels. The Aryan Persian, when it admitted Arabic words, had thirty-one consonants: the great Indian Vernacular, by absorbing both Aryan and Semitic elements, has an alphabet of forty-eight consonants. Turkish, which has added to its Non-Aryan base a host of Aryan and Semitic words, has thirty-two consonants.

The Greek had only seventeen consonants and the Latins the same number: the English is inadequately supplied with twenty consonants.

Passing to countries of a lower civilisation we find the Finnish alphabet with only eleven consonants, the Mongolian with eighteen, the Polynesian with ten, and some Australian languages have an alphabet of only eight letters: while on the other hand the Kafir or Zulu has twenty-six consonants in addition to the clicks.

Many theories have been started as to the number required to express correctly the capacity of sound of the human organ. Some, extravagantly, would suggest more than one hundred letters. Max Müller in his projected missionary alphabet to assist persons in reading the words of new languages in a correct and uniform method, suggests an apparatus of seventy letters, including vowels and diphthongs, and we must conclude that this is the lowest estimate for practical purposes.

No changes of written character are willingly made. Religion was the great obstacle with the early nations, and those that are backward in civilisation among the moderns. The ancient Egyptian in all its developments of hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic suffered from the opposite evils of homophony and polyphony, the expression of the same sound by a plurality of symbols, and the use of one symbol to denote many different sounds. This defect destroyed all accuracy and certainty, and was mainly due to the use of ideographs; and yet, to the last moment of the existence of the character, ideographs were used in the demotic. The Phenicians, free from sacerdotal influence, borrowed the symbols with their phonetic powers, and left ideography behind. Similarly the Japanese have borrowed the Chinese ideographs and use them alphabetically. We mark the same order of events in the Cuneiform character. With the Proto-Babylonians the character was strictly ideographic. The Assyrians made use of the instrument that came to their hands both after an ideographic and phonetic manner; and dire has been the ambiguity in consequence. We have proof in the grammatical letters which have

come to light, that they felt the difficulty, but they were unable and unwilling to change a method mixed up with religious prejudices. The Persian Achæmenides had no such prejudices; they got rid of the ideographs and syllabary, and used the arrow-headed characters as a pure alphabet.

We gather, indeed, from the inscriptions that are dug up, that there was a natural selection and a struggle for life among alphabetical systems as among languages. In such narrow limits as Asia Minor and Greece, we have traces of many varieties of the same family, but the most influential, or the most practical won the day. It is of the nature of the thing that it should be so, and this fact accounts for many details otherwise inexplicable.

Even in very modern periods anomalies exist from motives of religion or race or politics, without reference to the real merits of the alphabet. The people of Roumania, as mentioned above, have gone back to the Roman character, as a proof of their independence, and have no doubt made a step in advance, though not intentionally. The people of Croatia and Illyria, who are Romanists, cling to the Latin character, abandoning the Servian, as the Slavs of that country are of the Greek Church. In British India the policy of the State has been uncertain. Some enthusiasts have tried to introduce the Roman character, an ingenious device, by which those who can read the character, are unable to understand the language, and those who understand the language, are unable to read the character. For the present it is quite uncertain which branch of the great Phenician tree will ultimately prevail, the Nagari, or the Neskhi, or the Roman.

In Europe some dream of an international language and an international character. Such mighty changes can only take place by the meeting of two opposing civilisations, and the supersession of one or the other. A more moderate attempt is to bring the alphabet of a nation into harmony with its sounds. How greatly the English alphabet diverges from the just type, can only be appreciated by those who have to acquire it. Of all systems that of Mr. Melville Bell is at once the most scientific and practical; his symbols are denoted by curved lines, which represent the position of the tongue or lips in their formation, and are comprehensive enough to embrace the whole gamut of human vocalism. The utterances of the uncivilised races can be registered with unfailing accuracy, but it is Utopian to imagine that any such scheme will ever have a practical realisation. Our present system, with all its faults, is too much interwoven with the history of the human race.

Two reflections occur to us, ere we lay down the pen and leave this fascinating subject. The primary object of those ingenious

fathers of civilisation was to devise a method of communicating with each other beyond the limits of space and time to which the human voice could reach, and during which the ear could retain. The greatness of this conception can be measured by the fact that hundreds of tribes of men down to the present era have never attained to it. Experience of the machinery invented for epistolary or legal purposes, suggested to kings, priests, and warriors, the idea of handing down their great acts, their wise laws, and bloody deeds to posterity. The mighty after-thought never was suggested to those early peoples, what advantage it might be to the individual to record his own thoughts, and then go over them again, and what a mighty engine was fabricated for the accumulation of knowledge, thus marking most distinctly the line which separates man from the lower creation. Animals may share with us the power of emitting through their throats intelligent sounds, by which they can communicate with their fellows; but no trace of communication by symbol has been discovered, such as the scratching on sand, or breaking of twigs, or barking of trees, by which they invite intercourse, or warn of danger. We find, therefore, in the human invention of an alphabet a greater barrier betwixt man and animal than in the cultivated gift of vocal utterance.

It is an amazing and overwhelming reflection, that conducted by the clear sight of history, and the irresistible logic of analogy and deduction, we are led unhesitatingly to the conviction, that the light Italian stroke of the boarding school girl, the printed pica of the best edition, the magnificent crucials of the great texts of the Old Testament, the pretty Greek, the architectural Cufic, the tangled web of the Neskhi and Shikustuh, the orderly and magnificent Nagari, the square Hebrew, the zigzag Peschito, the unsightly Armenian and Ethiopian, the sticky Runes, the infinite variety of curvilinear strokes of the Southern Indian and Indo-Chinese alphabets, the scratches of the Mongol, Mandchou, Puhlavi, and Zend—all these varieties of script, the offspring of hurry, and varying materials; all this contrast of straight strokes, crooked strokes, round strokes, and square strokes;—all come by strict lineal descent from the twenty-two Phenician symbols, which some worthy merchant of Sidon, at a date preceding the Exodus, brought back from Memphis, perhaps a copy of these moral tales in early hieratic character, tales destined to be the progenitors of all the old saws and modern instances with which mankind was to be vexed, which gave the idea of the proverbs to Solomon centuries after, and animal stories, the echo of which have been caught up by Vishnu, Surma, Bilpai, Æsop, Phœdus, Lafontaine, Gay, Grimm, Andersen, and genial authors in every clime, age, and language.

There are some things which we can hardly imagine to have been discovered twice. The use of the same calendar, the division of the month into dark and light halves, the same art of notation, the same system of phonetic alphabets, the same legends, the same deities, and the same roots, the same grammatical features argue the existence of some common origin; and we become strangely impressed with the impossibility of isolation betwixt the different families of the human race. What has been attempted to be proved with regard to the written character, can be asserted with regard to larger matters, such as language, religion, and even race. The practice of taking female captives has largely affected the purity of races, and the well-known features of Rameses II. betray the intermixture of Semitic elements. In language and religion, the fact is too patent to require further notice.

ART. VI.—THE RELIGION OF THE BRAHMO SOMAJ.

(Independent Section).

THOSE who are outside the circle of immediate sympathy with the Brahmo Somaj, do not perhaps care to take sufficient pains to understand and examine the principles of that movement. It is generally interesting to them, as a protest against idolatry; and they view it, on the whole, as an encouraging sign of the times which may one day develop into "something better." There are others whose interest in the institution is keener, though far less favorable. They view it from the standpoint of religious rivalry; and the severely critical mood which that position so naturally induces. They unhesitatingly set it down as a perfect failure, as a speculative, social, and religious experiment, which has been tried and found totally wanting. A few there may be on the other hand, among the general public, who view the Brahmo Somaj with greater sympathy, and are inclined to think that it contains some promise for the future. The writer of an article on this very subject in the *Calcutta Review* for April, 1874, belongs, rather to the second order of thinkers, though he seems not indisposed to extend his patronage to the Brahmo Somaj, if his advice, vouchsafed towards the end of his paper, be strictly followed by the members of that society in future. For the information of persons circumstanced like him, and of others whose interest, of whatever kind, in the movement, may tempt them to express opinions and pass judgments, which, if worth forming at all, ought to be formed on some foundation of fact, it will be of service, if an attempt is made, albeit in the nature of the case the attempt must be inadequate, to explain as briefly as possible, some of the principles on which the Brahmo Somaj bases its religion. To the great disadvantage of Brahmos, it must be here observed that these principles have never yet been sufficiently set forth and elaborated in their writings. This perhaps gives some semblance of excuse to a number of the opponents of their body to misunderstand, in spite of repeated explanations, the most elementary things of the Brahmo's creed, and, what is much worse, to represent them incorrectly. One example will suffice. More than ten years ago the Somaj sought to place before the public in sufficiently strong light the universally recognized fact that religion, in its essential reality, is intuitive and natural to the human mind. Religion is an irrepressible instinct of human nature, which necessarily finds its embodiment in formal beliefs and principles, in ceremonial rules and observances.

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in external evidences and authorities, which, however outwardly divergent and erroneous, agree, when carefully analysed, in their original essence. This instinct involves certain necessary relations between the percipient mind of man, and the divine realities that surround him within and without. The relations take shape among mankind in those elementary ideas about God, immortality, and human duty, which are everywhere found. The very ground-work of religion is possible on certain primary and germinal convictions, more or less fully developed—nay, sometimes *very* undeveloped indeed—to which all religious teachings, to be effective, must make their final appeal. Thus all religion to guard itself in these days against the dogmatic denials, and plausible sophistries of prevalent scientific scepticism, against the conflicts and discrepancies of critical and historical evidence, has ultimately to establish itself on the supreme necessities of the human spirit. So far as its relations with mankind in general are concerned, apart from its exclusive authorities and testimonies, every religion must, in some measure, hold the ground common to all men—the ground of fundamental instinct and conviction which remains unshaken, even when external evidence and authority are found to fail. Now to what does Christianity address its truths in the case of those men or races who for moral and intellectual disadvantages are unable to feel the force, and appreciate the value of its historical testimonies? Have we not heard of remarkable conversions in which men after long years of scepticism, infidelity, and hard unrighteousness, have suddenly found within them, strange instincts and cravings awakened, the irresistible force and intensity of which led them to run headlong into any faith that first presented itself? What, in short, is the meaning of the internal evidence of religion, if there is not a secret but real fitness between the truths it teaches, and the spontaneous spiritual perceptions of man? The Religion of the Brahmo Somaj is founded on these. The process by which the members of that institution have come to attach so much importance to the inward rather than to the outward testimonies of religion, will be explained as we proceed further. It is enough to indicate at this place, the nature of the ground on which they found their faith. To urge that the spiritual potencies of the soul are not in uniform activity throughout the world, is no more valid objection than what can be urged with equal reason against the development of intellect, conscience, and the affections in man. They all require the help of external agencies to call them forth, the teachings of experience, the influences of education, circumstance, and surrounding belief. This is evidently a truism. Nevertheless the truism has been repeated times without number by the Brahmo Somaj to denote its real position,

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and to acknowledge its obligations to other systems of faith. But to no purpose. A class of opponents in this country have always declared themselves against this simple doctrine of first principles. If the objectors had proceeded from the extreme school of secularism and material scepticism, we could have understood what they said. But coming as they do from the body of orthodox Christian Missionaries, we often fail to understand their attitude. Do they deny the primary religious instincts of man, and hold his nature to be as fundamentally devoid of all ideas about God, morality, and immortality, as that of the oyster, or ape? Is his spirituality nothing more than a parrot-lesson poured into his brain, a mere molecular change in the nervous centres, a hereditary weakness transmitted and registered in consciousness? This statement made by religious men, however disappointing to some, will be readily sanctioned by a class of influential thinkers who, tracing the origin of man to apes and oysters, find his religious instincts rather awkward obstacles in the way of satisfactory scientific conclusions. If, on the other hand, the critics admit the existence of any fundamental ideas about heavenly realities in the nature of man, ideas which find their correlation and development in the facts and laws of outward nature, our only request to them is to define what these ideas are, and point out where, and in what particulars they differ from the similar truths in which the Brahmos have the misfortune to believe. The retort which this question will readily provoke, we can very well anticipate. It will be said that the Brahmo Somaj evolves its whole theology out of the depths of its intuitional consciousness. That the dogmas, theories, systems, services, reforms, dispensations, &c., in which that institution abounds, have all started into being as a host of Intuitions reared in some hidden region of the Brahmo type of human nature, ready-armed, and rough-shod to take by storm the whole religious world. This curious indictment, which must have been originally framed with the praise-worthy object of winning "an easy victory" over Brahmo disputants, is regarded by the Somaj with some wonder, not unmixed, perhaps, with feelings of amusement. When did the Brahmos teach that their whole theology was intuitional? The germs only, and the germs not merely of the religion of the Brahmo Somaj, but of Christianity, Hinduism, and Mahomedanism alike, are intuitions; the peculiarity of the Brahmos being that they build their faith thereon without the supernatural, historical, and dogmatic ground-work which belongs distinctively to each of the rest. That faith in its development is certainly open to criticism and liable to variation, but any criticism of the fundamental principles underlying them, applies not to the religion of the Brahmos only, but to the elementary truths of all religions. And we should like to know what religion will like to submit

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to the charge of being against the nature and instincts of mankind? As to Mr. Dyson's celebrated "Brahmic Intuitions," we are loth to say anything. They are very good in all other respects, and lack only in one minor merit, namely they do not belong to the Brahmo Somaj. They are entirely his own offspring. We know Mr. Dyson has been at immense philosophical labour to conceive and produce his "Intuitions," and he has baptized them with a Brahmo patronymic. That is enough reason why he should be fond of them, expect them to win theological battles for him, and refuse to part with them, though their pretensions to genuineness have been so often called to question. All this we say is quite natural, but is that any reason why their paternity should be fastened upon the Brahmo Somaj? If Mr. Dyson's friends are disposed to think that his "Brahmic Intuitions" give him "an easy victory" over the Brahmos, let him by all means enjoy it, and enjoy it the more as the victory does not seem to have alarmed or done much harm to the party over whom it has been won. After this, we are aware, it will be too much to hope that misrepresentations of theistic doctrines will cease in this country; but in fairness, let it at least be borne in mind, that the Brahmo Somaj cannot, in every instance, undertake to be responsible for what everybody who has "an easy victory" to win, may palm off upon the public as the intuitions and dogmas of that institution.

The above it is expected will serve the double purpose of giving some idea of the basis of the religion of the Brahmo Somaj, and at the same time of exposing a too carelessly-accepted popular misrepresentation. But it must not be supposed for one moment that because the Brahmos fix the roots of all religious belief in the depths of human instinct, where no reckless scepticism, or materialistic sophistry can reach it, they on that account lack in reverence for the records of sacred truth in the world. Our readers ought to remember that when the Brahmo Somaj was founded in 1830, its religion was that mixed form of monotheism which is inculcated in the *Vedanta*. It was considerably later that the authority of the *Vedas*, recognized as infallible nearly for twenty-two years, was given up in favor of a more rational creed. The history of this important change is easily told. The leaders of the Brahmo Somaj at that time being men whose education was less completely national than that of the founder, became every day more and more conscious of the open disagreement between the principles of Vedic orthodoxy, and their own ideas of essential religion and morality, as well as the conclusions of modern science. The processes now so generally resorted to by the orthodox of harmonizing irreconcilable positions by blandly ignoring the actual difficulty, by a quiet reference to

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the intervention of the Evil One, or by heroic, though somewhat hopeless, conflicts with the inexorable philosophy of the age, had not been known quite so fully then. Finding therefore "the ethics of subscription" an insoluble problem, they candidly confessed they could not keep their original position, and declared their renunciation of the authority of the Hindu scriptures about the year 1852. In discarding the ancient revelation of their forefathers, however, the Brahmo Somaj did not mean that the Hindu scriptures ceased to be to them a principal source of spiritual benefit and guidance. They published a selection of passages from the sacred writings of the country, just as their founder had published a similar selection from the New Testament; and from this time forward Hindu, Christian, and all other scriptures were viewed by them in the same light, in the light of a grand repository of truths attained by the religious consciousness of all nations under varying modes and orders of development. Exceedingly valuable, inspiring, nay, indispensable when rightly understood, their interpretation ought not to be entrusted to the hands of a misleading tradition, a narrow-minded priesthood, or a blind unenlightened faith, but to the light of God in Nature as explained by science, and in human reason, conscience, and soul, as explained by sound observation, by progressive spirituality, and the genuine goodness of life. The exact position of their theology was perhaps not adequately realised by those who were so early able by their conscientious protests to set aside a doctrinal unsoundness, which nearly for a period of two decades, fettered the intellectual and moral progress of the Brahmo Somaj. But the removal of scriptural infallibility involved a recognition of the supremacy which, in the conflict or absence of opinion and authority, must belong to the ultimate laws of truth graven on the tablets of man's nature. Historically, then, the doctrine of first principles thus became an article of belief in the Brahmo Somaj.

If then the Brahmo Somaj do not feel ashamed to acknowledge the general truthfulness of all religious scriptures, while repudiating the absolute infallibility of any, it is not to be wondered at if they likewise recognize a very large amount of truth in the prominent doctrines of the most prevalent systems of faith in the world. Believing in the universal and impartial action of the Spirit of truth in all conditions of humanity, whenever the soul of man is up-lifted in search of the light of God's face, the Brahmos can discover all over the world the impress of divinity upon doctrines and theologies which the degrading superstitions of men and their selfish subtleties have to the majority of us made unintelligible, or absurd. And the recognition of truth in such cases means its adoption. It has long been customary to examine in a perfunctory manner all

foreign systems of faith for objects of criticism, and when any truth is found therein, to pass it off as a second-hand edition of a doctrine or two contained in the creed of the sect to which the critic himself belongs. This high-handed method of dealing with the claims of rival religions precludes, in the first place, the possibility of discovering any important truth that lies below the merest surface of things by shutting out all the deeper powers of spiritual perception; and in the next place, it causes the disappearance of the whole originality and freshness of truth, even when accidentally discovered, by presenting it through the colored medium of sectarian prejudice. If we are to learn from the past we must learn not only from the sacred records preserved by faith and tradition, but at least equally as much from the great doctrines and ideas which have more than anything else shaped the destinies of mankind. Unconsciously therefore, and instinctively led by their religious needs and aspirations, the Brahmos have adopted many of the doctrines of the ruling religions of the world, with such slight modifications as are naturally suggested by the peculiarity of their circumstances. It has been the ambition and the striving of eminent Brahmos to find in their church the representation of the leading ideas that govern the religious world; and removing the discord and disorganization that usually characterize them, to preserve their variety; but give them such harmony and oneness as belongs to all God's truths. This has often exposed the Brahmos to the charge of plagiarism. They are said to appropriate other men's faith without due acknowledgment, and teach the doctrines of those systems to which they are supposed to stand in the relation of hostility. The hostility spoken of is at least not on the side of the Brahmo Somaj, or they would not so readily acknowledge their obligations to their antagonists. Only they do not see how the copyright of any really God-given truth can be secured to a mere sect, however important that sect may be. A truth, whether in science or in religion, as soon as it is revealed and recognized, becomes the property of mankind, and it is as foolish to think of denying to extend its benefit to outsiders, as of declining to accept it, because the men who view it from various standpoints, quarrel over their petty differences of creed. Here lies to our apprehension the very soul of sectarianism. The fatal exclusiveness that imports into the sacred domain of religion the shop-keeping rivalry of contending markets, has proved to be the ruin of human brotherhood. To avoid that evil as much as possible the religion of the Brahmo Somaj embraces the spirit of Hinduism as well as of Christianity, without identifying itself with the hundred little sects that wage endless war with each other. There is, or ought to be, no trade-mark on what is really true and good in

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men's faith, life, and teaching, because it belongs not to one people, country, or time, but to all. It is the wealth of humanity as a whole.

One other source of light to which the Brahmos attach supreme importance must be here alluded to. The great standing reproach of what is called Natural Religion has long been that it depends exclusively upon human reason and conscience for guidance, and does not place itself within the influence of the great personal centres, around whom the most active systems of religion range themselves. However true this may historically be of certain forms of Natural Religion, the Brahmo Somaj cannot plead guilty to the charge. The Brahmos recognize the unavoidable necessity of placing themselves under the guidance of the great teachers, who, at different times, have taught the world the profound lessons of truth and salvation from the light and life of inspiration. In the leaders of humanity, in the prophets who have been sent to announce the advent of higher destinies and newer dispensations than those which ruled the spiritual existence of mankind before them, the Brahmo Somaj has deep and devout faith. They are the mediums of certain truths which, without them, could not have been imparted to the world. We shall have to speak more on this point as we proceed, here we content ourselves with making one remark only. The development of the many-sidedness of human nature, partial and inadequate views of which have started so many insoluble problems in the religious world, is not possible but by the example of certain great characters who, within their limited sphere, have represented and reconciled a vast variety of phases, and widely different peculiarities of life, which human actions under different circumstances ordinarily present. The varying processes of the operation of the Divine Spirit in the soul of man, according to varying conditions of historical and theological life, are thus proved and justified in the career of men who carry with them the unmistakable credentials of a Divine commission. A faithful and devout recognition of such masters, it will be easily understood, establishes a true and lasting bond of union between the Brahmos and followers of other creeds, and concentrates into a focus the influence of the most eminent religious characters in all ages and countries at whose feet humanity must at all times sit to learn the lessons of living truth.

One word is here necessary, perhaps, to acknowledge the indebtedness of the Brahmo Somaj to the progress of philosophical and scientific thought at the present day. Religious organisations of all kinds and orders, that have any historical claims, or theological status to maintain, have suffered so seriously by the relentless researches and inexorable conclusions of modern scientific

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men, that in spite of much professed courage and unconcern, there is but little real inclination left in the apostles of religion to welcome or encourage the votaries of free philosophy. Nay, their ancient combats have grown only fiercer and more desperate; and if the leaders of scientific thought have shown any readiness to recognize "a soul of truth" in the complex theologies of the world, and if cautious theologians have expressed any wish to patronize science, there is perhaps the lurking desire on both sides to secure, by plausible compromises, their respective portions in the old battleground more completely than ever. "The soul of truth", graciously recognized on the one hand, is absolutely annihilated in the hopeless depths of the Unknowable in all things, and "the basis of emotion", to which religion is relegated with lofty philosophic courtesy, vanishes into thin air as soon as turned in the crucible of scientific analysis. On the other hand, the mock greeting ostentatiously held out to the advancing light of science, is converted into bitter anathema directly the scientific man ventures one step into the familiar preserves of traditional theology. All the encouragement vouchsafed to the study of the laws of nature has been principally with the hope that science may prove in the end to be the handmaid of supernaturalism. But in vain. A contrary result has taken place. The long-neglected rights of nature have been asserted with a distinctness and force which show, even to the most faint-sighted, on what side the faith of the future must lie. The phenomena and orders of the universe; the processes and plans of creation; the dates and ages of events in the world; the formation, history, relations, and developments of mankind; these and many more things have slowly passed out of the hands of an all-absorbing and omnipotent priesthood. Say what we might in advocacy of the claims of man's primitive faith, when science speaks in her proper sphere, the religious man must often confess his ignorance, "sit still, and learn". Philosophy has fully established her competency, even at the exclusion of her old rival, to decide the methods and laws of the universe, the affinities and evolutions of phenomena so far as these can be ascertained; and those pious disputants who want to carry the crusade into these forbidden territories, have, in the abundance of zeal, missed their vocation completely. On the other hand, the enquiry on the part of the scientific adventurer has been pushed into the depths, into the very confines of all being; the conflict has been carried to the very gates of the possible existence of a Supreme Cause. There he stops. He has pursued the manifestations of life far and deep into their dark background of power,—further he cannot proceed, "its mystery overshadows him.*" Who is to unravel the mystery now?

* "When I attempt to give the universe an objective form, personal power which I see manifested in the or otherwise, it slips away from me,

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Who is to hold up the torch when it "slips away" from the hand of the imperious, over-confident apostle of intellect? Let religion answer the question. The limits of scientific thought have been reached; let devout thoughts awake. In the long course of conflict to which allusion has been so often made, have we not learned to understand, however faintly, the deep and peculiar language in which religion delivers her great realities? When one speaks therefore of the Life, and Power, behind the universe, the mystery of which overshadows the intellect of the philosopher, let the latter in his turn "sit still, and learn." Science has delivered her message: why should not a fair opportunity be now given to religion to convey her new gospel, and make it "the gospel of glad tidings" if she can. That may take a long while yet, and in the meantime we may just briefly summarise the obligations which religious men owe to science. Firstly, then, mighty and destructive errors have been demolished, and so much space cleared for the establishment of positive truth by the researches and conclusions of modern philosophy. True religion, disburdened of these errors, may now proceed freely on its way. In the second place, invaluable aid has been rendered to the cause of rational faith, by the discovery of that continuity, order, and connection in all departments of physical life, in the absence of which there have been considerable difficulties for a long time in the argument of a harmonious, persistent, and consummate design in the creation, and maintenance of the world. The imputation of whim, of arbitrary and freakful fiats in the authorship and providence of the universe, is no longer possible. In the third place, the provinces of religion and science have been so clearly marked out and defined, that unless the inquirers of either completely mistake their calling, there cannot be any collision between the two. The sphere of religion has been pointed out, and if religious men have life enough to supply the incessant demand for a higher life made by mankind, in that sphere faith shall exercise its power undisputed by the old rivalries of the past. For all these and similar advantages conferred by the advancement of knowledge upon the progressive religion of mankind, the Brahmo Somaj feels profoundly thankful to the apostle of science. Their speculations and discoveries have been a great source of truth to that institution.

In what has been said above there is certainly not much to indicate any real or great originality in the religion of the Brahmo Somaj. It presents itself, to a great extent, as an

declining all intellectual manipulation. I dare not use the pronoun 'He' regarding it; I dare not call it a 'Mind'; I refuse to call it even a 'Cause.' Its

mystery overshadows me."

PROF. TYNDALL.

*In the Fortnightly Review for
December 1875.*

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order of theological eclecticism based on the religious wants of mankind. Now whatever may be said in favor of an attempted synthesis of religious thought, there is no doubt that any mere theological generalisation does not satisfy the deep and powerful cravings of the human heart. For the philosophical, for the thoughtful, for the careful student of theologies who has watched and analyzed the origin and development of creeds, this has an interest. But it is altogether so abstract and erudite, so devoid of colour and taste, that the millions of the uncultured and unthoughtful, and above all the sinful and the restless, demand something easier and more practical to hold by. This is exactly the charge which is sometimes brought against the Brahmo Somaj, and we must see how far it is substantiated by facts.

All the criticism hitherto instituted on the religion of the Brahmo Somaj, has been a more or less accurate examination of the philosophical principles which the development of that institution has brought to the surface, or suggested to the public mind. Few have taken the trouble to think that there are other sides of the movement, and much more important ones too, than what critics have been concerned with up to this time. It is something of course that the theists of India have abandoned the old pursuit of protesting against the errors of other systems, and building for themselves a structure of negations founded on no more solid basis than an abstract belief in the existence and attributes of the Deity distilled from the crude speculations of the old systems of Natural Theology. With the advance of scientific thought and research, the views of nature have been so materially altered during the last half a century, that Natural Theology, to be at all acceptable to thoughtful men, must considerably change its standpoint, and even then cannot be trusted as the principal and abiding source, albeit that a secondary source it will ever continue to be, of the faith of the future. If therefore the Brahmo Somaj is found to possess a definite and positive system of religion, however incomplete that may yet be, and however humble its pretensions, its origin must be sought for in something else than mere speculations on the nature of the cosmos, or of man, or the oft-repeated shortcomings of competing creeds seen around. What that something is we will now try to examine.

Those who have any intimate acquaintance with the progress and proceedings of the Brahmo Somaj will at once concur with the statement that for a long time the most prominent feature among leading Brahmos in its membership has been a persistent cultivation of devotional feelings. The spirit of devotion has been cherished with great and special enthusiasm since the unfortunate rupture in the Brahmo Somaj in 1865. The following few lines from an article on the Survey of the Brahmo Somaj Mission

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that appeared in the *Theistic Annual* of 1874 will give an idea of what we mean :—

“After the establishment of the Brahmo Somaj of India in 1866, such a strange influx of devotional excitement set in among the Progressive Brahmos, that it has permanently changed their character, and defined the future of their institution. The first devotional festival or *Brahmotsab* was celebrated about the end of 1867. And since then the Brahmo Somaj has been speedily running through phases of spiritual development which has ushered in a stage of devotional blessedness never experienced before. Among all our different missionary agencies nothing has contributed so much to the success and spread of our movement as the order of Divine worship prescribed by the Brahmo Somaj of India.”

The manifestations of devotional excitement in large Brahmo congregations at the time of festivals and annual gatherings, have often been so strong that on witnessing them we have been reminded of nothing so much as those powerful religious revivals which among the Vaishnavas and the Sikhs, have been so prolific of social consequences vastly important to the growth and history of Indian races. It is the women and the young that are soonest affected, but it cannot be said that they retain the impressions long. The men are more slow to catch the influence, but when they have caught it, which they are sure to do under the effectual appeals which their leaders know so well how to make to their hearts, they retain the impression long, and find their practical lives considerably changed thereby. This has sometimes led to the charge that Brahmo ministers and missionaries always encourage sentimental development, at the sacrifice of intellectual solidity. We may here just point out how contradictory this charge is to the contrary accusation that the Brahmos have for their religion a system of dry rationalism. Whatever truth or falsehood there may be in these contradictory accusations, this much is at all events certain, that in equal predominance, if not in vast excess of the philosophical element, there is in the religion of the Brahmo Somaj the eminently popular element of emotional fervor, which in the history of all active systems of faith has been such a mighty instrument in the propagation of truth and sanctity, among all classes, but more specially among the less cultivated portions of society. Those, therefore, who complain of the cold abstractions of the religion of the Brahmo Somaj either possess no personal knowledge of the movement, or, we should be sorry to suppose, choose to suppress well-known facts with a view to represent it at a disadvantage before the public. It may not be out of place to state here that some of the discreet Christian Missionaries in and about Calcutta, seeing the effect of Brahmo popular hymns (*Sunkeertan*), have introduced this method of singing in the midst of their own congregations, we hope with good effect. The Brahmos are glad of this circumstance, because their own ideas of spirituality, like many of their

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doctrines, have been influenced by other systems, and perhaps by nothing more, than by the spirit of Christian devotion. All that is profound and beautiful in the worship of other denominations has been reverently adopted, and blended with the broadening currents of devotional fervor in the Brahmo's temple of prayer and praise. It is therefore perhaps that unsectarian minds among all orders of religionists sympathise with the sweet and simple worship of the Brahmo Somaj. We have already alluded to the fact that Hindus are moved thereby, and feel glad to give below an extract from a letter written not long ago by one of the leaders of religious thought in England:—"The Theism of India speaks to me, not simply as objectively interesting, but with an appeal to my inmost sympathies. It is your happy lot to have a true and living Faith, unencumbered by a load of traditional theology. We are so heavily weighted with a complex theology, that faith and love are half strangled by the burden, and have no stroke in their wings. But I will not complain or despond. The Providence of the world assigns to us our place and work; and while I look with joy and hope on the mission offering before you in India, I am content, for my remaining days of service to labour on 'the stony ground' of an exhausted Christendom, and try whether here and there the good seed can yet find some deepness of earth." Surely, then, the religion of the Brahmos is not a cold intellectual creed.

Where this profusion of sentiment has led the Brahmo Somaj is the next point to consider. There is nothing so detrimental to the solidity of character as the waste of religious emotions. It makes, barren and vulgarises man's nature, and makes the whole subject of religion contemptible before judicious men. On the other hand, religion means very little without real and profound emotion, which turned upon the soil of the soul, makes both the intellect and the moral nature divinely fruitful, and produces such noble types of character as distinguish the apostleship of every great faith. Nothing can so powerfully refine and elevate human motives, intensify the necessity of self-purification and self-devotedness, open the inward eye to the most subtle and secret deficiencies of the heart, quicken the perception of others' needs, and unlock the sources of the deepest sympathies, as the cleansing, transforming currents of religious emotion rightly excited and rightly directed. If, from this point of view, we examine the results of the devotional fervour in the Brahmo Somaj, we shall find that the prominent members of that body have continually exerted themselves to purify the moral life of individuals, and the social atmosphere of the country in which they live. They have strenuously endeavoured also to propagate their religion among their fellow countrymen. It does not fall within the scope of

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this paper to enumerate the practical and social reforms effected by the Brahmo Somaj since its foundation, nor can we stop to dwell upon the details of the operations of its missionaries in various parts of the country. But we think it can be stated with perfect fairness, that with the progress of the spirit and operations of the movement, with the increase of its membership, the development of its principles, the propagation of its truths, almost every year has witnessed an ever-growing intensity of zeal to harmonise life and doctrine. The highest ideals of individual purity, missionary life, and social organisation, have been set forth in obedience to the profound aspirations of its eminent leader, and though it cannot be pretended that all these ideals have been realised in their fulness and detail, yet we think it may be safely asserted, that the moral character of the Somaj is universally respected and relied upon. The important reforms in various branches of life introduced by it have procured for it the sympathy of the liberal members of other denominations, and the personal purity of the Brahmo's life does not go unrecognised. This is not said with the least object of magnifying the Brahmo Somaj in the estimation of our readers, but just to point out the fact that the emotional sensibility of that institution instead of weakening and vulgarising the moral sense, as it has done so often in the world, has produced the most wholesome influence upon the will and active powers of the mind. The activities thus awakened have sometimes taken an unexpected direction, and the orthodox of all creeds have been startled by the revolutionary enthusiasm of Brahmo reformers. The extraordinary views on the subjects of female improvement, caste, and marriage, views which, unlike their countrymen, the Brahmo Somaj have carried out at considerable personal risk and social sacrifice, aroused at one time the bitter hostility of the Hindoo community. The uncomfortable ideas on the subjects of personal simplicity, austerely regulated habits, self-discipline, and self-control, all included under the somewhat obnoxious word asceticism, preached by Brahmo leaders, have at the present moment produced sufficient dislike in certain quarters. But misconceptions in the one case have yielded before the persistent honesty of aspiration and effort, and by its unpopular reforms the Brahmo Somaj has, in the end, acquired more sympathy from the outside than it ever possessed before. So in the other case it may be hoped that popular misconceptions regarding the individual and social practices of some members of the Brahmo Somaj, will cease also. But before they cease Brahmo devotees will have to prove that their austerities and self-denials, the new rules and practices they have adopted, have ended in the unmistakable exaltation and sanctity of their character, and in the propagation and establishment of their religion among the unbelieving and

sceptical. The intense and profuse moral activities of a youthful religious institution will not, perhaps, obtain the unanimous sympathy of the public, especially from those sections of it which represent the easy-going worshippers of antique creeds, who are comfortably settled among time-honored usages, and feel secure within the prescribed forms of respectable righteousness. But such juvenile moral energy, admittedly liable to abuse and misdirection, proves at least an abundance of spiritual vitality that might be utilised under proper guidance to serve some of the noblest purposes of human existence. The world has sometimes suffered a great deal from the superfluous activities of sacred enthusiasts who have diverted the healthy and harmonious forces of man's nature to the service of abnormal systems of doctrine and practice, attractive as all monstrous things are, but short-lived and perfectly unreal. Yet the gain is beyond all comparison with the loss when it is borne in mind what wonderful changes have been the results of such energetic action under the control of master-minds,—changes that have transfigured the thoughts, affections, and lives of great masses of mankind at the most critical periods of their history.

The importance of personal influence in shaping and guiding the destinies of a religious movement cannot be exaggerated. At the risk and considerable sacrifice of its popularity, the Brahmo Samaj has always upheld the supremacy and steady power of personal influence. It is considered indispensable in the formation and preservation of religious systems. The shallow and thoughtless among the Brahmo body have been struck with panic, at the idea of human centres for the religious development of humanity, the supplementary influences of man to the influences of the Divine Spirit, the former but a mode of communication for the latter, towards the regeneration of the race. The doctrine of Messiahship is one of the profoundest in all religions; it is so early and universal, and has been historically so uniformly efficacious in the origin and growth of all possible religious excellence, that we consider it unnatural and foolish to dispense with it summarily. Not that we mean to maintain for a single moment that personal religion of any kind is impossible, and much less that salvation is unattainable except through the medium of a human, or *quasi*-divine agent, however exalted. In all ages and countries those that love God, and work righteousness are acceptable before Him. But when great systems of faith and morality have to be established and worked out, vast moral revolutions have to be effected, great masses of mankind have to be converted; abstract and unauthorised principles, even if backed by the exuberance of emotion and ethereal energy, cannot produce any permanent effect, though certainly a wide-spread agi-

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tation is not impossible for the time being. Great truths and great sentiments must settle and centralise, not in books, nor merely in institutions, but in souls to bear the test of time and circumstance. Whether it be one, or whether it be many that give witness unto the truth, such witnesses the world shall always demand for the assurance and permanence of its faith. The Brahmo Somaj cannot, on the other hand, shut its eyes to the gross, gigantic, and almost imperishable evils which an abuse of this principle has generated in the world, nor can the formidable difficulty and responsibility of its application in the present age and circumstances of the world be ignored. But fear and hesitation, when the interests of truth are at stake, are foreign to all manliness and honesty of character; and in this, as in all other matters, the Brahmo Somaj must face its work, and do its duty to the best of its power. What then is the true mission of the prophet? He is the type of spiritual life. He is chiefly important in showing how man may have the gift of living revelation from the Spirit of God. The perfect and the Infinite Spirit cannot in Himself exemplify the fact of limited spirituality and progressive goodness. The possibilities of human progress can be practically represented in man alone. Not that these possibilities can become actual in any one; but what *does* become actual, clearly shows what may be possible. The true Messiah, therefore, is not he who persuades men to aspire up to his standard in purity and spiritual excellence, and leaves them there to receive from him what he alone has to give. On the contrary, he is the true messenger of God who pours out the whole energy of his being that others may be carried directly into the presence of God, and, left there by themselves, may forget everything else in the supreme fact of Divine communion immediate and personal. The powers of the intellect and will are held in temporary suspension, or rather are in a state of unconscious activity, and man becomes the free but passive recipient of supreme blessedness, which exceeds all ordinary endeavours and hopes quite unspeakably. As all the prominent members of the Brahmo Somaj have laboured and aspired to arrive at this condition of spiritual life, which is said to be solitary and social at the same time, hidden and yet diffusive, we should try to explain ourselves more fully.

Firstly, then, the Brahmo Somaj attempts by its devotional experience to solve the great religious problem as to whether the Supreme and Infinite Spirit can be *directly* approached and worshipped by every individual soul. In the very humblest among mankind there are fit elements, and a fit place for the spiritual relationship and filial attitude, whereby the pure and blessed Spirit of God is accessible, adorable, may be beheld, communioned with, obeyed, and held by amidst the various circumstances and trials of life. The

close, personal, and tender relations with the Divine Father for the formation and consummation of which incarnations have been so often resorted to, are not only possible, but realisable in life, where man's soul understands, and keeps the laws of spiritual dependence. Of course help is necessary for this; such help as man can render man, but of the measure and the kind of help requisite, we have already spoken. Nevertheless the direct object, the entire aspiration, the whole destiny of man is, that he may see face to face, love devoutly, and be at one with his God without the least obstruction, or substitution, or medium of a third personality. All other personalities, even the sublimest and most beneficent, consent to tarry behind while the individual soul proceeds in awe to meet the direct presence of the infinitely Alone. God as the Father of all human souls, the Source of all that is pure and true in the universe; the Eternal Everliver and Infinite Centre of all practical and spiritual goodness, wherever found, is hardly recognisable by our filial instincts, if, labouring under the weight of a denominational theology, we view Him through the mouldy medium of ancient dispensations, and endless mediators. The direct and distinct realisation of, and perfect self-immersion in the supreme fact of Divine Fatherhood, constitutes the first, the solitary, and hidden element in the Brahmo doctrine of inspiration, or true spirituality. In the second place, the truth thus acquired leads to a very important consideration, namely, the fraternal union of all mankind in the spirit of Divine truth and love. This is neither realisable, nor even thinkable when the vast majority of the human family is condemned and disabled, the perception and attainment of supreme blessedness being taken away from them on account of non-subscription to certain creeds and ecclesiastical forms which their reason and conscience alike repudiate. Much has been said and done to explain and exemplify Divine love. But very little has been said, and much less practised in illustration of the brotherhood of man. The great ambition of the Brahmo Somaj is to show some practical example in this direction. That the profound and joyful fellowship of souls is possible, nay, realisable in common relationship to the central principle of Divine communion, from which all true worshippers draw their spiritual sustenance and strength, has been, though very imperfectly, an experience in the Brahmo Somaj. That justice, honor, and reverence may be accorded to every individual, to every sect, to every church, and to all mankind for the incalculable moral and religious benefit received from each in the formation of the world's spiritual and practical life,—benefit not due to one, but to all systems and workers of good, is equally an experience. A devout and faithful contemplation of this truth changes very much the existing relations of theological life, and in the consciousness of the altered

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conditions of moral and religious relationship, the basis of a new society for mankind is obtained. As the changes that come from within are always more powerful than those which come from without, the society so founded receives purity, strength, coherence, and joyfulness in its organisation which are but the reflex of the spiritual development of those who feel inwardly propelled to establish it. Men coming out of various states of national growth, social influence, and religious culture are recognised as members of one family, and welded together into one brotherhood. The differences of taste, training, habit, and birth are harmonised without much difficulty. The claims of each person and see obtain a cheerful recognition. The faithful band of worshipper and believers expands in their faith into a world-wide fraternity. The cardinal truth of the brotherhood of men thus realised and united with the supreme doctrine of God's fatherhood, placed before the Brahmo Somaj, the ideal of the true and lasting religion of the future.

How have these and other doctrines of the Brahmo Somaj come to be formed, is an important question. Most of the opponents and some of the friends of that institution are apt to suppose that the leader or leaders of the movement have by great efforts of the understanding, by deliberation, and mutual counsel, elaborated a system of opinions in which they and their followers believe. A greater mistake there could not be. The leaders of the Brahmo Somaj began their career by a strong protest against dogmatism, and if at the present moment they themselves have come to hold certain very definite views which they set forth with some show of authority and certainty, this fact must be accounted for. Now the protests of the Brahmo Somaj on the subject are as little understood as the doctrines it propounds. It is the lifeless mass of complex theology, inherited by tradition, enforced by external authority, unrealised by spiritual experience, contradicted repeatedly by the spirit of the times, and the ascertained laws of things that the Brahmo Somaj repudiates. The worship of opinions, as opinions, however sacred, however ancient, apart from the spirit, is what every man, who cares for living truth, must condemn always. But there may be opinions of a quite different character. The great and really profound doctrines of religion are never formed by the laboured and artificial processes of self-imposed thought, but deposited within the mind in imperceptible accretions by the deep flow of spiritual impulses. As the soul seeks for light, life, and inspiration, and the flood of divine influence sets in, it leaves behind certain impressions and experiences, which by repeated occurrence settle and crystallize into definite shapes, being afterwards known and taught as the realities of religious life. When these are formulated and expressed in

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words they become what we call the doctrines of religion. The principles of the Brahmo Somaj, few and elementary as they are, have been the results of this inward process. The views, then, which the Brahmo has expressed from time to time on the Divine Nature and attributes, the relations and attitudes which human nature must bear thereto, and the moral and spiritual relations of men to each other, are but deep internal experiences repeatedly felt, and sanctioned by the concurrence of many souls similarly circumstanced. Duties which have naturally suggested themselves in the train of such inward light; duties to individuals, to families, and to society, when performed faithfully, have come to take the shape of practical and social reforms. Whether we consider then the doctrines or the practices of the Brahmo Somaj, they are the natural fruits of the action of the spirit of truth in the human heart. Put into words these principles have often savoured of Christianity or Hinduism, according as the phraseology used to embody them has been English or Sanscrit in the history of its formation. This is, we own, seriously disadvantageous, and gives the truths of the religion of the Brahmo Somaj an unoriginal and imitative aspect highly favorable to the purposes of those who wait for opportunities to misrepresent them. But from this disadvantage Brahmos must for sometime yet consent to suffer till the spiritual individuality of their church becomes more distinctly and widely known. Those who however care to inquire with any degree of earnestness, will easily find out that the doctrines, principles, and practices of the Brahmo Somaj, as set forth in the history and spirit of the movement, have a significance peculiar to themselves alone.

And now the conclusion must come. We have tried to give above complete sketch of the religion of the Brahmo Somaj, but feel that we have not been able to do justice to the subject. Because the religion of the Brahmo Somaj is not yet complete. When a religion is still in the process of formation, its principles continually expand and modify, and it is neither wise nor just for any one to attempt to fasten on them the rigid fixity which every form of written interpretation must, more or less, bring with it. The recent and progressive character of a youthful faith constitutes at once its danger and its life: the life is a life of self-exertion, moral advancement, doctrinal fulness, prayer, faith, and divine guidance: the danger is the danger of self-delusion, idleness, spiritual contentment, error and moral confusion. In courting the danger, the Brahmo Somaj claims also some measure of the life aforesaid. Those who warn it of the former, should likewise encourage it of the latter. So far as its career has gone, the efforts of the Brahmo Somaj to know and hold by the truth, as knowable in actual consciousness, as knowable in a pretty long course of social

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and moral struggle, as knowable in the faith and experiences of mankind in the past, have been steady, earnest, and sincere. Amply rewarded in all such efforts, its faith in the future is great and sure. Yet it is impossible to foresee that future distinctly. That there are many imperfections, and some of them serious, in the organisation and internal economy of the institution, no one can deny. That some of its important principles, partially ascertained in devotional and practical experience, still require the full testimony of life and character, is equally undeniable. The faith of the Brahmo is incomparably higher than his actual being. Let us hope that his earnest strivings to *be* what he *believes* will be crowned with success; and that between aspiration and achievement, life and doctrine, faith and organisation, there will be, as the Brahmo Somaj grows older and maturer, a more complete harmony than has been hitherto attainable in that, or any other institution of which we know.

ART. VII.—JESSORE.—PART II.

WE now propose reviewing and dilating on *only* the third part of Mr. Westland's report, which relates to "the first thirty years of British administration" of the district; inasmuch as it discusses subjects of importance, and occupies about double the space allotted to the two previous parts, and somewhat more than that given to the following three parts put together, exclusive of the Appendix, which latter, however, fills up but ten pages. We shall reserve for another, and probably final paper, the consideration of the remaining parts thereof.

The history of the early period of the British Government of Jessore comprises, as just mentioned, in all one score and ten years, and is stated to be "compiled chiefly from the official records" of the district, and may therefore fairly be assumed to be authentic and trustworthy. A preliminary chapter is devoted to a rather limited view of the state of the district previous to 1781, from which year the British administration is said to have actually commenced.

It will not, we think, be out of place to here very briefly set forth *how* and *when* the English came to assume the Government of the country, as a sort of introduction to what follows.

The popular notion on the subject is, we believe, that from the victory of Paláshi,* gained under the conduct of Clive on the 23d June 1757, dates the British Government of, at least Lower Bengal. But, although that memorable battle may be broadly said to have laid the foundation of the English power in this country, yet we for some time afterwards in no wise concerned ourselves with the internal affairs of even the afore-mentioned province as a whole, and the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the collections of the revenue remained, as heretofore, in the hands of the Nawáb of Murshidábád. And, it was only subsequent to the British obtaining the *Díwání* of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissá, from the Emperor of Delhi, Sháh 'A'lam, on the 12th of August 1765, on the condition of paying a tribute of a couple of *lákhs* of rupees *per mensem* out of the revenue, that they appear to have made any effort to interfere with the administration of the country.†

* The name of an insignificant place, thirty miles to the south of Murshidábád, on the left bank of the Hugli, and supposed to be derived from a grove of Palásh trees. (*Butea frondosa*, Rox.), which stood there, and which trees produce beautiful orange flowers, and yield a fine, yellow dye.

† The reasons for assuming the *Díwání* are fully stated in a letter of

the Governor in Council, to the Court of Directors, dated September 3rd, 1765, paras. 21 and 22, *vide* the Rev. J. Long's *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, vol. I, pp 425 and 426. The Court of Directors approved of the acquisition of the *Díwání* in their letter of 17th May 1766, paras. 10 and 13 *Ibid*, pp. 468 and 469.

When the British, in 1765, acquired the *Diwāni* of the three provinces aforesaid, the first of them, with which we need only concern ourselves, was governed by Muhammad Rizā Khān, on behalf of the Nawāb, under the title of *Naib Subahdār*, and his abode was at Murshidābād. He was confirmed by the English in his position as head of the administration, and Jagat Set and Rāi Durlabh were appointed his colleagues.* The administration of the revenue affairs by Muhammad Rizā Khān under the British, lasted for about seven years, as the Company's servants, who were engaged simply in mercantile pursuits, had of course no experience of the Government of the country.

The commencement of the new year for the collection of rent, which takes place some time after the setting in of the Bengālī *San*, is ushered in, in every Zāmindār's *Katchari*, in the Lower Provinces, by a religious, or rather quasi-religious ceremony of the Hindus, designated *Pūrnya*, † literally signifying "good works," but used here in the sense of "first fruits;" and this was observed in a commensurately grand scale at the court of Murshidābād, where it was to be held in state, when the annual settlements of the revenues of Bengal were made. This was observed by the British for some time, and the first of them was held on the 29th April, 1766, and is thus described in the Board's proceedings of the 5th May of that year. "That His Excellency the Nawāb sat in quality of Nizam and the "Right Hon'ble the President took his place as Collector of the revenues for His Majesty—that they thought it by no means advisable "to deviate upon slight occasions from the established forms and "customs of this anniversary, and therefore accepted for themselves "and for us the usual presents of a dress and elephant to each. That "the Zemindārs and other public officers have consented to pay "to the amount of five lacs and twenty thousand rupees as first "fruits of the ensuing collections; of this sum four lacs are already "received, and the remainder they have reason to expect will be "paid in a few days into the Treasury. That all possible despatch "will be used in closing the balances of the present year so as to "complete for the Province of Bengal a collection of 140 lacs; a

* These appointments were thus announced to the Court of Directors in the letter of the Governor in Council, bearing date the 3rd September 1765, para. 16. "As Mahomed Rizā Khān's short administration "was irreproachable, we determined "to continue him in a share of the "authority, at the same time that we "associated with him men of weight "and character, so that each became "a check upon the conduct of the

"others. Accordingly we fixed on "Jugget Seat and Roy Dullab for "the reasons assigned in the proceedings; and we now have the pleasure "to acquaint you that the business of "the Government goes on with un- "animity, vigour, and despatch."

† Thus showing that the Hindu custom, albeit a somewhat religious one, was maintained by the Muhammadan conquerors.

"revenue that must far exceed expectation, when it is considered that six months were elapsed before we took charge of the collections, and that the more weighty and considerable balances were actually incurred before we received the investiture of the *Diwāni*."

The civil and criminal affairs of the administration, previous to the *Diwāni* being transferred to the British, appear to have been in the hands of the powerful Zamindārs, who ruled with supreme sway, only reporting to the Nāzim when they had sentenced criminals to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, as executions were not allowed to take place without his sanction, but it was hardly ever withheld.

When the Government of the country came into the hands of the British, at first little or no change appears to have been effected with regard to the administration of justice, except that the heads of the factories were enjoined to exercise a general supervision over the courts established by the Nāzim, which, as was to be expected from those utterly destitute of experience and knowledge in the matter, was more or less imperfectly performed. However, in August 1769, a number of covenanted civil servants were stationed in several districts, under the designation of "Supervisors," with the sole object of regulating the native tribunals, where the Muhammadan law still prevailed.

In 1772 Muhammad Rizā Khān, who as Naib Subahdār had charge of the revenue, and as Naib Nāzim supreme control over the police, was, under instruction of the Court of Directors, deposed by Mr. Warren Hastings, then Governor, whose vigorous administration had just commenced. On the 14th May of the same year, a proclamation was issued, announcing that the Company would thenceforth "stand forth as *Diwān*." The European officers previously appointed in the interior as "Supervisors," were now, under the designation of "Collectors," directed to personally look after the realisations of the revenue, and they were placed subordinate to a committee, composed of four members of Council, who were empowered to make settlements, and generally control the fiscal operations. In each district there was established two separate courts. The one for the administration of criminal law, denominated *Faujdāri Adālat*, was presided over by a *Kāzī* and *Mufti*, assisted by two *Mariavies* to expound the law, and placed under the supervision of the Collector, who, *inter alia*, was directed to have a box kept at the entrance of the *kutchuri* for petitions to be put in, which was evidently the prescribed mode of receiving complaints; and he was also required to forward bi-monthly an abstract of the register of the proceedings of the court to the superior court located in Calcutta, called *Sadr Nizāmat Adālat*, in which a principal native officer sat, under the

title of '*Dároghah*,' or 'Superintendent,' and was aided by the head *Kázi* and chief *Mufti*, as well as three learned *Maulavies*. The other court, for the adjudication of civil suits, denominated *Diwáni Adálat*, was presided over by the Collector personally, and assisted by the *Diwán*. An Appellate Court was also established at the same time in Calcutta, styled *Sadr Diwáni Adálat*, to which the district civil courts were immediately subordinate.

Three years afterwards, or in 1775, we find that the *Sadr Nizámat Adálat* was sent back to Murshidábád, and the administration of criminal justice vested again in the Naib Názim. He appointed *Faujdárs*, aided by *Kazis* and *Muftis*, to supervise the criminal courts, and to be responsible for the maintenance of peace and security in their respective jurisdictions, though of course, in such effete and corrupt hands these results could not be expected to be realized, nor were they as a matter of fact attained. As regards revenue affairs, the European Collectors were withdrawn, and natives, under the title of *Amils*, appointed in their stead, and these now functionaries were also empowered to adjudicate civil suits. The only European officers left in the interior of the province were some half-a-dozen covenanted servants in the same number of circles into which Bengal had been divided, and who heard appeals from the orders passed by the *Amils*. These were, it must be confessed, retrograde measures, and they lasted for six years, that is to say, up to 1780.

Now, we shall proceed to consider what Mr. Westland has set forth as to the state of the district prior to 1781. He states that nearly the whole of the district was comprised within three or four great *Zamindáries*, and enumerates these: *Isabpúr* (*Yúsufpúr*), *Syadpúr*, *Muhammadshahi* (*Mahmúdsháhi*) (and *Blusna*,) (*Bosuah*). We may here add that, Sir John Shore, (afterwards Lord, Teignmouth) has left it on record as a fact, that some seven *Zamindárs* in Bengal paid the Government as rent one million of rupis which exceeded the rest of the aggregate revenue of the entire province. And Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr, a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service and an accomplished scholar, in his article on "The Owner of the Soil," (*Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXII, page 310,) wrote when Judge of Jessore, and evidently in allusion to this district, that it was formerly—evidently prior to the Decennial Settlement—"parcelled out between two of the seven "whom Shore enumerated, with the addition of a third." He then goes on to state that: "These three, between them, were "liable for the revenue of a country which extended from the "Ishamatti not forty miles to the east of Calcutta to the north bank of the Poddka or Ganges." The then existing state (in 1859) of the successors of those *Zamindárs*, is thus graphically sketched:

"One is reduced from the receipt of rents exceeding half a million to a poor pittance of two or three lakhs a year. The second is represented by an individual on whom a liberal education, and the direct superintendence of watchful guardians, collectors and commissioners, during a lengthened minority, have bestowed just intellect and capacity sufficient to enable him to squander a good patrimony. The third, though noted for careless management and consequent indebtedness, is a generous landlord, a loyal subject, and a gentleman with tendencies somewhat in favor of the old school." As the writer has refrained, probably advisedly, from giving us their names, we do not think we would be justified in mentioning them.

Among the Zamindaries of less extent, we find Parganá's Hogla, Belfuliá (Belphúli), and Sultánpúr specified. The last of them, or rather thirteen anás thereof, was acquired by one Kasináth Datta in 1774, owing, we are told, to the former Zamindárs being unable to pay in the arrears of rent due. This fact is prominently brought forward in order to prove that the Zamindárs, prior to the Permanent Settlement, were not hereditary proprietors of the soil; but Mr. Westland evidently forgets that, although he must allow that the existing class of Zamindárs are in reality hereditary proprietors of the land vested in them—be it by virtue of legislative enactment if he will—yet they are liable to be dispossessed of their holdings in a far more summary manner, *i. e.*, by the sale of their properties,* simply on failing to pay in any one instalment of revenue due, before sun-set of the particular date fixed for that purpose. Therefore, this argument, confidently advanced by Mr. Westland to establish that Zamindárs prior to British rule were not hereditary owners of the soil, is of no avail, and falls to the ground.

Besides the few important Zamindaries mentioned above, there were numerous minor ones, and the total number of them at the time of the Permanent Settlement, is stated by the writer of the Report, to have been "just over 100." Mr. Seton-Karr, in his article to the *Calcutta Review*, quoted in the para. before the last, p. 354, mentions that: "In 1793 the number of estates for which separate engagements had been signed, was three hundred and seventeen." There is a considerable discrepancy between the former and latter figures, but it is easily accounted for, inasmuch as Mr. Westland evidently noted down only *de facto*

* Of course the defaulter will now receive the surplus of the proceeds of the sale after deducting the amount due as revenue, if there be any, but the payment formerly of the arrears of rent due must also be

considered as, in some sort an equivalent of the price of the property, and to all intents and purposes it was nothing else. The price of landed property is now at its maximum: it was then at its minimum.

Zamindáries, whilst the Reviewer, it may be inferred, includes independent or *Káhrjá Tálugs* as well, which at that time sprang into existence.

It is then curtly announced in the report, that "Zamindárs were mere, contractors of revenue," and the case of Kasináth Datta, before referred to, is cited as a "strong argument" in proof of it. We have by parity of reasoning shown that this argument is fallacious, and the very same objection can be urged to the other case, that of Manohar Rái, quoted by him as an additional proof in favor of his contention. But as Mr. Westland has frequently, in other parts of his report, reiterated what he states in this place, we think it as well to meet his arguments here, and shall dispose off the question once for all, at least as far as we are concerned.

The erroneous impression that the British Government found the Zamindárs nothing more than mere contractors of revenue, and raised them to their present position of hereditary proprietors of land, is generally prevalent among Europeans in this country, even in usually well-informed circles, and certainly requires to be dispelled. This we shall endeavour to do, though we are by no means sanguine that we shall be able to bring to our way of thinking those who have a *strong bias the other way*, for, as Butler says in his *Hudibras* :

"Convince a man against his will,
He's of the same opinion still."

It will be necessary for us to briefly glance at the *status* held by Zamindárs prior to the Muhammadan conquest, and during the Hindú government. The country was, we find, divided among a number of *Des-Adhikáris*, or "owner of provinces," under whom were sub-holders, designated *Grám-Adhikáris* or "owners of villages. When the Muhammadans took possession of the country, they did not oust the *Des-Adhikáris* from the position they occupied, but simply changed their designation, and called them in their—the conquerors'—own language, *Zamindárs*, which, *par parenthèse*, does not in any wise signify "contractors of revenue," the name for which is *Ijárdars*, nor "collectors of revenue," *Tahsildárs*, but *boná fide* "holders of land." The profits of the land were distributed in certain fixed proportions thereof to the cultivator and the sovereign, leaving, evidently, a fair but undefined percentage, however, for the Zamindár which was equivalent to his share of the crop. And, as the crop represented the rent, the value thereof naturally fluctuated in different seasons, and therefore neither the demand of the king on the Zamindár, nor that of the latter on the *ráiyat*, could be fixed. Englishmen are apt to understand the phrase "proprietor of land" in the

sense in which it prevails in England, that is to say, the absolute owner of the soil, therefore they find it well-nigh impossible, many of them absolutely impossible, to comprehend the position held under native rule by the Zamindár. Perhaps Harington's definition of the term Zamindár is the least open to objection: it is as follows:

"The Zamindárs were, under the Muhammadan practice, land-holders of a peculiar description, not definable by any term in our language,—receivers of the territorial revenue of the State from the ryots;—allowed to succeed to their Zamindáries by inheritance, yet generally required to take out a renewal of their titles from the sovereign on the payment of a fine to the emperor and a present to the Názim,—permitted to transfer their Zamindáries, yet commonly expected to obtain previous special permission;—privileged to be generally the annual contractors for the public revenue received from their Zamindáries, yet set aside with a limited provision in land or money when it was the pleasure of Government to collect the rents by separate agency, or to assign them temporarily or permanently by the grant of a *jaghír*, or *allamgha**;—authorized to apportion to the different villages the cesses imposed by the *Subahdár*, yet subject to the discretionary interference of public authority to equalise the assessment,—and liable to render accounts."

That the Zamindár's position was generally insecure and uncertain under the despotic sway of the Muhammadans, and that he was at times treated with harshness and injustice, is no proof, we opine, that he had no right to better treatment at their hands; for they were the arbitrary acts of an arbitrary Government, when the right of the cultivator to the crop he grew was equally uncertain, for another might appropriate it by force, and with the connivance of the rulers. If what one man sowed, another could reap, and that precious boon, life itself, and still more precious boon, the chastity of women, were not considered of any moment in the eyes of the ruthless Moslem rulers of the land, with how much less regard must have the right and title to property been treated by such relentless men. It must be borne in mind that, nearly all the Zamindárs were Hindus. And, finally, to prove that Zamindárs were not simply what Mr. Westland and others have represented them to have been, we shall quote a brief extract from the English translation of the firman

* This shows that the Zamindár had a lien on his estates, and as the grant in lieu thereof was in proportion to its extent, it may fairly be said to have represented its value,

of course arbitrarily, but in those "good old days," of anarchy and oppression, injustice was the rule, and not the exception.

of the Emperor of Delhi, 'Farukhsiyar, to the English, dated as far back as A. H. 1229, = A. D. 1717:* "That the rentings of Calcutta, Chuttanutty, and Govindpore, in the Pargana of Ameirabad, etc., in Bengal, were formerly granted them and *"bought by consent of the Zamindárs of them"*—this part of the sentence has been italicised by us, and clearly shows that Zamindárs were *de jure et de facto* proprietors of their lands,—*"and were now in the Company's possession, for which they yearly pay the sum of Rs. 1,195-6 annas * * ** and that they have the renting of the adjacent towns petitioned for, *which they are to buy from the respective owners thereof."* These italics are also ours, and conclusively establish that Zamindárs were entitled, according to the authority of the Emperor himself, to receive the full price of their Zamindáris. Furthermore, if the reader will turn to the Rev. J. Long's *"Selections from the Records of the Government of India,"* Vol. I, p. 175, he will see what was the form of *Sanad* granted to the English by the Nawáb of Murshidábád, and the only difference in that and similar *Sanads* from others being, probably, that the former specified a fixed instead of a variable rental.

The array of facts above given, and the inference drawn from them, will, we hope, convince all who are open to conviction that the Zamindár was under the Muhammadan régime, what his name signifies, *the owner of the land*. And, it is rather puzzling to us to find that those who have had fair opportunities of ascertaining the true facts, do not apparently care to do so, and persist in maintaining a contrary opinion on such insufficient grounds.

For some time at first, it appears, that the revenue of the district, owing to there being no local treasury, was to be paid partly in Calcutta, and partly in Nator, Rájsháhi).

We now come to the period when British administration of Bengal may fairly be said to have commenced. On the 6th of April 1781, the Governor-General in Council decreed the abolition of the establishments of the Faujdárs and Thánádárs, and the six covenanted servants presiding over the like number of courts in the country were trebled, and their courts augmented in the same proportion. These officers, besides being Judges, "were"—to quote the words of the Resolution—"invested with the powers, as Magistrates, of apprehending *dacoits* and persons charged with the commission of any crimes or acts of violence, within their respective jurisdictions." But they had no power to hold any trial, or

* Stewart's *History of Bengal*.

inflict any punishment on those apprehended. They could only forward them on to the nearest *Faujdarí* Court, and deliver them over to the *Dároghah*, who was merely subject to the authority of the Naib *Názim* at Murshidábád, to whom he had to refer for orders in all cases, except the most trivial ones, in which latter he, the *Dároghah*, was empowered to award petty fines, or short terms of imprisonment. There were two *Dároghahs* then stationed in the district, one at Jessore, and the other at Bosnáh, where there were also jails, under their charge.

The head-quarters of the district was at the very commencement fixed at Murli, and the first officers appointed there were Mr. Tilman Henckell, Judge and Magistrate, on a salary of Rs. 1,300 per mensem, who arrived there sometime in May 1781, and his Assistant, Mr. Richard Rocke, the Registrar, on a salary of only Rs. 300 a month, who also reached the place in the same year. Both were most able and energetic men, and the name of the first of the two has not yet been forgotten by the people of the district, though almost a century has passed away since he first appeared in Jessore. Mr. Henckell, we find, lost no time in endeavouring to organize an efficient police, and he stationed a force of 50 *Sipáhis* at Murli, 30 at Mirzánagar and Bagnah, respectively, and 4 at Dharmpúr, whilst at Noábád (Khulná), there was none, as the force attached to the Salt Department there was doubtless deemed sufficient for it. At all but one—Murli—of the five places named above, (the remaining four were old *Thánáhs*,) he placed police officers, designated *Girdawás*, and not, as stated in the Report *Girdwars*,* whose duty it was to apprehend all *Dácoits* and despatch them to Murli for trial. But, the Government within a very short time, about a year, directed the entire force, except that at Murli, to be abolished, on the score of its being too expensive.

The Magistrate was, in 1782 directed to make Zamindárs and other superior land-holders responsible for the apprehension of criminals and suppression of crime, and the punishment to be awarded to them, *i.e.*, the Zamindárs, for conniving at any serious offence was declared to include the hanging of the delinquent. The Zamindárs were also required to erect *Thanáhs*, and to appoint proper officers to have charge of them; and, some 13 *Thánáhs* appear to have been at first thus created, but the number varied at different times. These arrangements may be said to have continued in force till Lord Cornwallis

* We believe *Girdawá*, گرداوا is a *dwár*, گردوار transliterated by Mr. substantive of the masculine gender, Westland *Girdwar*, is an adjective and signifies "a patrol," whilst *Gird-* meaning "all round," or a circuit.

vigorously set about to effect a thorough reformation of the administration ; and, that they were in *some measure* an improvement on the police establishments which existed during the time of the Faujdárs, was owing simply to the indomitable energy which Mr. Henckell brought to bear in their supervision, as also to the fact that he managed to retain the establishments at Thánáhs Jhenida and Noábád, being authorized to temporarily engage the services of Thánáhdárs and Girdáwás for special occasions.

Owing to the depredation committed by *Dacoits* in the Sundarban, Mr. Henckell induced the Government, after, as usual, a great deal of trouble and difficulty, to permit of his entertaining a special establishment of six patrol boats. That the most daring *Dacoitis* were perpetrated there at that time, is evident from the following extract, taken from the first volume of *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, by Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr, p. 269.

"The *Dacoits* who have so long infested the Sunderbunds and the rivers leading to and from Dacca, have, in the last week, been uncommonly daring in their depredations. A detached party of seven boats were, on the 2nd instant at Sonarampoor, where they laid under contribution every boat passing and re-passing. The principal *Dácoit's* boat carried the Company's colours, and they plundered without fear in open day. A large party, said to consist of about fourteen armed boats, attacked on the 3rd, between Calpudity and Gurneedy, a Mr. Burgh, on his way to Calcutta : on their approach Mr. Burgh desired them to keep at a distance, which they refused, calling out, '*Toom ko marnaka iah*,' or we are come to kill you, on which Mr. Burgh fired his musket, but unfortunately was brought down by an arrow which pierced his breast, and afterwards, on their boarding his boat, being run through his back by a *roybans*, a kind of spear, fell into the river, and his body has not since been found. One of his *dándies* was also killed, and another dangerously wounded with an arrow above the eye. * * The same party are supposed to have proceeded towards Gazepore, near Dacca, where, on the 4th, in the morning, two European gentlemen in *budjrows* were attacked, and stripped of all their things, even to the clothes which they wore. The *dándies* were forcibly taken out of the boats to be employed by the *Dácoits* in their future excursions. On the evening of the same day, Mr. Willes, proceeding from Sylhet, fell in with the same party consisting of fourteen boats ; after having been chased some time, finding the *dácoits* gaining fast on his *pulwa*, he ordered her to be run on shore, and escaped with his *dándies* and servants. The *Dácoits* took possession of his boat, and plundered her of everything on board, remaining in her from four o'clock till twelve at night, the greater part of

"which time they were occupied in emptying the bottles of liquor they found on board."

Again, at page 270 of the same work, another daring attack by *Dácoits* is thus narrated :

"In addition to the outrages of the Sunderbund *Dácoits* mentioned in our lost,"—dated November 13th, 1788—"we hear that on the 15th ultimo, a naik and eight sepoys, proceeding from Calcutta to Culneá, (? Khulna) were attacked at the mouth of the Choonpoorie river" (? Chunkhuri, a creek about 16 miles or so below Khulná),—"by some five or six and twenty boats, each manned with some sixteen or eighteen men, a number of whom boarded the boats of the sepoys, wounded several of them, and plundered the whole of their property, as well as their muskets and bayonets. One of the sepoys being missing, was probably killed."

That the *Dácoits* did not carry on their audacious exploits with perfect impunity, and that Mr. Henckell was, to some slight extent, able to make way against them, will be seen from this extract from the same page of the above work already twice quoted :

"These repeated depredations call for immediate and exemplary punishment, and we are happy to hear that Mr. Henckell, the Magistrate at Jessore, has apprehended twenty-two persons supposed to have been concerned in the above robbery. Eleven others have also, we understand, been taken by Mr. Ewart, Salt Agent at Jynagur."

Among the leaders of the *Dácoits*, the writer of the Report mentions the name of one Hirá Sirdar ; and, he also mentions that "of Kalisankar Datta or Rái,* the ancestor of the Narail family," who Mr. Henckell stigmatized as "a *Dácoit* and a notorious disturber of the peace," but Mr. Westland considers him to have been "rather a latthial Zemindar than a *Dácoit*." The Report then goes on to describe an *achievement* in arms of Kálisankar and his no less valiant brother, Nanda Datta. They having plundered a rice boat, were attacked by a body of Sipáhis under the leadership of "Kutbullah," a Girdáwá, sent out by Mr. Henckell to apprehend the promising brothers. Kálisankar having mustered a force of 1,500 strong at Narail, formed them into four divisions, and gave battle to the police force, who appear to have been ignominiously routed within three hours, with a loss of three killed, and fifteen wounded, including their leader. Subsequently, Kálisankar, Nanda Datta, and some others of the marauding band, who took a prominent part in the fight, were seized and lodged in durance vile at Murli, but they were, according to Mr. Westland's information,—where

* The former indicates the name of the family, and the latter designation is used in these parts to signify the holder of it is the owner of land

obtained from it is not stated, but probably from some of the members of the Narail family,—tried by the Dárogah and acquitted. We must add that, Mr. Westland says, he was “told the offence”—the original one of course—“was not a *Dácoity*, but a *lut turaz*,” and naively remarks :—“Still he surely ought to have been punished for his armed resistance to his apprehenders.”

Under the heading of “the Administration of Criminal Justice” from 1781, the thorough failure of the system of trial by Dárogahs is clearly shown ; and, it is stated that, “in 1785 the Government empowered Magistrates to hear petty cases of assault, “abuse, and pilfering and to inflict on them punishments not exceeding four days imprisonment or 15 stripes.” But, Mr. Westland does not in this place, or elsewhere, as far as we are aware, notice the regulation passed by the Governor-General in Council in June 1787, “for the better administration of justice in the “Criminal Courts in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.” We ought, we think, to here supply the omission. By this enactment, the “Magistrate was invested with power to hear and determine, “without reference to the *Faujdári* Courts, all complaints or prosecutions brought before him for petty offences, such as abusive “language or calumny, inconsiderable assaults and affrays, and to “punish the same where proved, by corporal punishment not exceeding fifteen rattans, or imprisonment not exceeding the term “of fifteen days.” Any case in which a greater punishment ought to be inflicted, was to be remitted, as before, to the nearest *Faujdári* Court, but the Magistrate could fine up to the sum of Rs. 200 in groundless and vexatious complaints, according to the reputed wealth of the culprit which provision was adhered to in the law on the subject passed in 1793, *vide* Sec 8, Reg. IX of that year. The Magistrate was required to inspect the jails in his jurisdiction periodically, and to report on them to the Governor-General, that “the necessary representations might be made to the Naib Nazim.” European British subjects charged with offences, were directed to be committed to the Supreme Court for trial, and all other Europeans were declared to be amenable to the authority of the Magistrates and the *Faujdári* Courts. We are indebted for these interesting particulars to Mr. Beaufort’s able *Digest of the Criminal Law of the Presidency of Fort William*, published in Calcutta in 1846.

Mr. Henckell, among his other projects for the good of the Government and the people, proposed a plan for the reclamation of the Sundarban by means of convict labor, but though “this Sundarban plan,” as it was called, appears to have been approved of by the Board of Revenue, the scheme of the *convict colony* was never even attempted. Another proposal of Mr Henckell, of employing short-term prisoners to work on the roads, and long-term prisoners

to be deported to some penal settlement, was also approved of and the former of the two recommendations at least would appear to have been at last partially adopted.

"The administration of Civil Justice" for a like period of ten years, is next dealt with, and takes up barely a single page. The two or three subjects there touched upon call for no particular notice; but we may remark that the Judge, who had limited power, was evidently able to effect but little good to the people.

The heading of the next chapter is rather startling, it must be admitted. It runs thus: "The Salt Department and its fights with the Magistrate." This narrative is likewise from 1781 to 1790, and occupies half-a-dozen pages. The Salt Agent, Mr. Ewart, C.S., whose head-quarters were at Khulná, evidently at the outset declared war with the Magistrate, and did all he could to oppose him, and often successfully too. The salt system was, no doubt, "founded on the most grievous oppression," inasmuch as contractors for the manufacture of that commodity, the Malangis, used to sub-contract with others, the actual manufacturers, called *Maihandárs* who were coerced to take advances on the most unremunerative terms, and seized and taken to the Sundartan to prepare salt. Mr. Ewart supported the unrighteous Malangis in their oppressive acts on the *Maihandárs*, *vi et armis*, and Mr. Henckell, with his accustomed love of fair and honest dealing, strenuously endeavoured to protect the latter, hence the disputes between them, which raged with unabated fury for a series of years. Of the kind treatment by Mr. Henckell of this poor and oppressed class, the following short extract from Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. I., p. 253, will best speak.

"It is a fact that the conduct of Mr. H.——",—obviously Henckell—"in the Sunderbunds has been so exemplary and mild towards the poor Molungees"—*Maihandárs* is evidently meant—"or salt manufacturers, that to express their gratitude they have made a representation of his figure or image, which they worship amongst themselves. A strong proof that the natives of this country are sensible of kind treatment, and easily governed without coercive measures."

We may fittingly add that such is the detestation and horror with which Malangis are still regarded by the people in the southern and south-eastern parts of Bengal, that to call any one by that name is considered to be vile abuse. It has, in short, become a term of opprobrium.

As a commercial undertaking the salt department was in existence in the district prior to the British administration thereof,*

* In the Rev. J. Long's *Selections*, I, 408, in the Proceedings, Secret Department, May 7th, 1754, is a "Translation of a petition from the Vakeel of the zamindár of Buzzoorga: Me-i-poor," a Parganah south of Báqirganj,

and in the map of 1769, given with Mr. Sandeman's *Selections* Vol. IV, Khulná, which was its principal station, is shown, and styled "Jessore-Culna," whilst Jessore appears nowhere else in the map.

In the Cal. Jour. Nat. His., Vol., II, pp. 251 and 252, Mr. James Patton, Assistant Salt Agent, gives the following lucid and interesting account of the native mode of manufacture of salt as formerly pursued in the Sundarban.

"The *sea-water* during spring tides is permitted to flow over "a portion of ground levelled for the purpose, to allow the earth "to be impregnated with salt; the three highest tides are usually "sufficient; and as soon as the ground has become dry again, the "earth and salt are scraped together and placed in heaps. The "salt and earth in heaps are then put in a filter constructed "of straw, and washed with *sea-water*, the brine from the filter "passes into a hole dug out for that purpose, and plastered "with clay. From this the liquor is boiled in small earthen vessels "placed like a honey-comb, one vessel being attached to the other. "This method is followed in Báhárbung salt works. In other salt "works, called *Tuffaul*, the boilers are flat, and placed in rows. "The only difference in the two forms of boiling is, that in the "former dry wood is burnt to keep up fires only during the day, "and in the other, large logs of green wood are burnt night and "day, so that the one makes more salt; but the quality of salt "in both cases is *supposed* to be the same. After the salt is all "formed in the pots, it is taken out, and with the liquid that remains, is placed in baskets for the purpose of draining."

The salt manufactured out here was generally supposed to be adulterated freely with nitre, but Dr. J. McClelland says—*vide* the work and page just quoted—"The dirty and moist appearance of "the common bazar salt, is owing to its containing the muriates "of lime and magnesia, which give to the whole a deliquescent "appearance." Our table salt is, as the reader doubtless knows, a pure article, and known to chemists as 'muriate of soda,' but the natives of this country would not, until a comparatively recent period, taste it, under the impression that it was largely mixed

and according to Mr. Blochmann, (*Jour. As. Soc.*, Pt. I, 1873, page 229) called after Buzurg Umed Khán, son of that well-known Governor of Bengal, Sháístah Khán who ruled the province from 1664 to 1677 A.D. The complaint sets forth "the oppression "of the Factories" (? Factors) "of the "company, and many other English "Traders, who, it alleges, "press the "inhabitants and carry them in the

"woods of the Soonderbuns paying "them only half their wages. They "take possession of lands in the "Soonderbun and make *Tafalis* of salt "for which they pay no rents." F. "pecial mention is made of one Mr. "Dobbins, who is stated to be there "committing every species of oppres- "sion and violating the women of the "inhabitants, and erecting factories, "etc."

with the pulverized bones of animals of all descriptions,—men, cattle, swine, etc., and were apprehensive of swallowing particles of human, bovine, porcine, or any other ossified matter, which would militate against their caste.

A chapter of a couple of pages is devoted to the Company's cloth factories, of which there were two, one at Buran, and the other at Sonabaria, and the superintendent in charge of them and Mr. Henckell appear to have been also at daggers drawn, as the latter wished to shield the weavers from the rapacity of the underlings, and the former considered such conduct as impertinent interference, and resented it accordingly. These factories were termed *aurungs*, and we find from the Rev. Mr. Long's *Selections*, vol. I, p. 63, that one of the two factories, named above,—Buran (Burron), is mentioned in the list of the Company's *aurungs*, in a despatch to the Court of Directors, dated December 8th, 1755, and that it was supplied with funds that year to the extent of "Current Rs. 82,261-0-3." There were then in all thirteen *aurungs*, and had an aggregate sum of "Rs. 12,81,637-2-0," granted to them as advances.

Next we have, in a chapter of less than two pages, a narrative of facts relating to the "establishment of the Collectorate at Jessore." At the suggestion of Mr. Henckell, Jessore was created into a Collectorship in 1786, and he was appointed Collector thereof, in addition to his other multifarious duties, which he discharged with zeal, vigour, and ability, leaving the impress of his mind on every department in which he was in any way concerned. The Collectorship at first comprised Pargánáhs Yúsúfpúr and Sydpúr, and we are told "also some estates separated from Murshidábád." The revenue, which then amounted to little less than Rs. 6 *lacs*, was payable to the new local Treasury, and not as previously to the treasuries at Huglí and in Calcutta. In the following year, in the *Calcutta Gazette* of March 29th, (*Vide Mr. Seton-Karr's Selections*, vol. I, p. 185), we observe the appointment of the new collector thus stated: "T. Henckell, Esq., confirmed Collector of Jessore, with additions from Mahomedshahy, lately under J. Sherburne, Esq., Hoogly, lately under R. Holme, Esq., and parts of other districts."

The chapter following deals with the proposed Permanent Settlement, in the discussion of which, in 1788, Mr. Henckell took a prominent part. His idea appears to have been that the settlement should be made with the rayots, and their rents realized through the Zamindárs, whom he considered to possess some sort of a right. The question of *lakhiráj*, or rent-free tenures, also came up for discussion at the time, and it was at first proposed to resume all such created subsequent to the acquisition of the Diwáni, but eventually the grantees were somewhat less harshly treated. In A. D. 1784 the Government declared "the Burmutters and Dibutters

"and charity lands of all kinds" in Burdwan, "should be upon the same footing as those in the Calcutta Pergunnahs," and those only "exempt from any tax" as were "applied to maintaining of priests or schools" * These stringent provisions were departed from afterwards, still the resumption proceedings caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the people, and they were in many instances unjust.

Another chapter describes at some length the state of things prior to the Permanent Settlement," as regards landed property, from 1785 to 1790. The estates are said to have been over-assessed, and Mahmúdsbáhi,—called after one of the three Mahmúdsbáhis of Bengal,† given as Mahammadshahi by Mr Westland, is brought forward as an example in point. In Todar Mull's rent-roll of A. D. 1582, given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, we find that Sirkár Mahmúdálául, as it is there designated, is stated to have comprised some 88 *quahalls*, and yielded a revenue of Rs. 2,90,256 per annum, and Mr. Westland states that the whole of it was assessed in 1178 B S., = A. D. 1771-72 at Rs. 2,87,611, to which, if we add the Zamindár's allowance of Rs. 18,000, and the rents of the *Brúti*, or Endowed lands, Rs. 1,800, we have an aggregate of Rs. 3,07,414; but these two items should be properly excluded, as they were, probably, not comprised in the former assessment, and therefore the balance is in favor of it. Thus, it will be seen that the estates must have somewhat deteriorated in value between those two periods.

The half-a-dozen pages composing the next chapter, is devoted to the Permanent Settlement, of, it is said, 1790, but this is hardly correct, for although the terms of the Decennial Settlement passed in that year were confirmed by the Permanent Settlement, yet the latter was not promulgated till three years afterwards, by Regulation I, of 1793. Mr. Henckell having been transferred to the charge of a more important district, Rájsháhi, he was succeeded by his Assistant, Mr. Rocke, on the 14th October 1793, as Judge, Collector, and Magistrate, and on him devolved the task of initiating the new measure. It appears that the Zamindár obtained a remission from the aggregate revenue of one-eleventh part thereof, the balance being paid to Government in four unequal instalments during the year. At the same time the Government abolished the "*Sayer*" or "duties and customs," as defined in Mr. Warren Hastings's "Explanation of Terms," submitted to the Government in 1759, and which is the earliest glossary of Muhammadan terms extant, as will be seen from the Rev. J. Long's *Selections*, vol. I, p. 117.

* The Rev. J. Long's *Selections*, vol. I, p. 380.

† Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Pt. I., 1873, p. 217.

The Tálúqs, well-known to the natives as *Kharija Táluqs*, which were originally created by the Zamindárs, were now separated from the several Zamindáris to which they appertained, and their rents were made payable direct to the Collector. Another description of Tálúqs, the rents whereof were payable through the Zamindár, and which we may, we presume, style Shikmi Tálúqs, remained in the hands of the Zamindárs, but it was declared that, "their rent, and its *future increase*,"—the italics are ours, and show that such holdings are liable to enhancement—"ought to be stated with accuracy." Of course Zamindárs had in the beginning, and for a long time afterwards, to render annually their collection papers and accounts to the Government, i.e. the Collector. At the outset, the Kánungos, who were "officers deputed on the part of the ruling power to the offices of the Zamindáris," were retained, but their services were dispensed with in a very short time as unnecessary.

It would appear that the Náváb of Murshidábád was accustomed to grant certain favourites the right to levy some sort of an allowance from Zamindárs' estates, for Mr. Westland relates, that such privileges were conferred on "Boho Begum, one of the Murshidábád family," who claimed to realize Rs. 9,200 on that account. In 1796 the Government granted her in lieu thereof a life-pension of Rs. 6,300 per annum, which lasted only for four years, as she then died, but the amount was added to the permanent "revenue leviable from the estates," and thus the Collector did a fine stroke of profitable business for the Government.

The Government required the Zamindárs to grant *Páttás* to their Rayats, before the close of the Bengali year 1198, or the middle of April 1791; but, according to Mr. Locke, the Zamindárs were unable to do so, as all the Rayats did not pay their rents directly to the zamindárs, for some of them paid through the Gantidars, or farmers. In all cases, however, where the Zamindárs received the rents direct from their Rayats, they do not appear to have conformed to the rule laid down, which was, probably, not appreciated by the ignorant Rayats at that time, who did not care to demand their *Páttás*.

Another chapter of some thirteen pages is set apart for a very full description of "the state of things following the Permanent Settlement," said to be from 1791 to 1802. It shows that the early Zamindárs, far from deriving any benefit from a fixed revenue demand, found themselves hardly dealt with, and unable to meet their assessments, which must have been therefore excessive. The vicissitudes of fortune experienced by the proprietor of the Bosnáh Parganá, and the Rájá of Nator, are related by Mr. Westland to prove that the Zamindárs at first had a hard time of it. Now Kálisankar Rái, an ancestor of the Narail

family and the founder of its fortunes, steps on the stage in a rather different character from that of the daring leader of *lathi-als*, in which he last made his appearance in the annals of Jessore. He was regarded by the then Rájá of Nator, Babú Kisori Chánd Mitrá informs us, * "As a friend, philosopher, and guide. But he "was unfortunately neither a faithful friend, a good philosopher, nor "an infallible guide. He was, on the contrary, a principle of evil introduced into the Nator Ráj for its destruction." The splendid estate of Bosnah was sold piece-meal in 1799, on account of arrears of revenue. We are further told by Babú K. C. Mitra,† that "the other estates of the Ráj shared the same fate as Bhúsna," and that the "largest purchaser of these estates was Kálisankar Rái."

We may here fittingly observe that the Permanent Settlement was not, as too many deem it, a hasty, inconsiderate, and impulsive act of Lord Cornwallis, who was then, it is said, wholly unacquainted with this country and its people. The Court of Directors appear to have contemplated such a measure years before, for in their instruction to the new Governor-General in 1786, they state: "A moderate assessment regularly and punctually collected, unites the considerations of our interest with the "happiness of the natives and security of the landholders, more "rationally than any imperfect collection of an exaggerated "jumma, to be enforced with severity and vexation!" And, Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Kaye most accurately sums up the history of the measure, when he says:—

"It passed into law nearly seven years after Lord Cornwallis "descended from the quarter-deck of the *Swallow*. It was sanctioned by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control after "at least two years of consideration. It was approved as a "Zamindaree settlement by all the first revenue officers in the "country, and as a permanent settlement by many of them. "It was based on information acquired during twenty-eight years "of diligent enquiry."

An account of "the ruins of the old Zamindárs," commencing from 1795, and proceeding down to 1802, comprises a chapter of five and a half pages. The next victim of the Permanent Settlement alluded to, was another native nobleman, Rájá Si Kanta Rái, Zamindár of Yúsufpúr‡ an ancestor of the present

* *Calcutta Review*, January 1873.

† *Ibid.*

‡ This zamindári was thus advertised for sale in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 9th February 1797: Sheriff's Sale.—Notice is hereby given "that on Wednesday, the 25th of "January last, the Sheriff of Calcutta "did put up to sale by virtue of a

"writ of execution issued in a cause, "wherein Nemychurn Mullick (who "hath survived John Hart) is the "plaintiff, and Rájah Sereecant Roy "and Gopeenath Roy are the defendants.

"All those six Pergunnahs in the "zamindaree of the said Rájah Sereecant Roy and Gopeenath Roy, called

Chanchrá Rájá. On his death the family were reduced to absolute destitution, and received a compassionate allowance of Rs. 200 per month from Government; and this pecuniary aid, subsequently reduced to Rs. 186, only ceased in 1812. Next, a third native nobleman's fortunes, or rather misfortunes, are narrated, that of the Rájá of Naldanga, the Zamindár of Mahmúshábi. Of this magnificent property a small portion only remains in the hands of the family. Several other Zamindárs also shared the same fate, for we find that Belpuli was sold several times, and Hoglá—it must have been one of the four shares into which it has been divided prior to the Permanent Settlement—once, in 1796. The difficulties and hardships of the Zamindárs will be readily appreciated, when we state that, in 1800 the Collector reported no less than a thousand estates in arrear, and he, the year before, wrote to the Government that, “there was hardly a single large landholder in Bengal, who had not been reduced to ruin.” This gloomy aspect of affairs, however, gradually improved. The Collector in 1811 wrote that, there was “a general reclamation of waste lands,” and Reg. VII. of 1799—the much dreaded *haptam kanañ*, as it was called by the natives, with its summary procedure for distraint and sale of the “crops, cattle, and other personal property of the under-tenant for arrears of rent,” enabled the Zamindárs to realize their rents from the Rayots, and pay in the Government revenue.

Next, we have a chapter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages on the “Creation of a new class of Zamindárs,” embracing the like period of seven years noticed in the foregoing chapter. It describes the breaking up of the larger estates into innumerable minor ones, which the author of the Report considers to have been, without doubt, an indirect advantage flowing from the Permanent Settlement, inasmuch,—to quote the *ipsissima verba* of the writer—“that society is always most prosperous where wealth is distributed over many individuals, instead of being massed in the hands of one or two only.” This proposition is no doubt unassailable in the abstract, but one which the losing side must always fail to appreciate, *e.g.*, Mr. Westland would not, we feel sure, relish the idea that, the amount of expenditure sanctioned for the Indian Covenanted Civil Service Establishment, instead of maintaining the number of officers it now does, was to be distributed among double or treble its present numerical strength, say among the Uncovenanted Judicial and Executive Services as well, though by so doing the greater good to the greater number would certainly be

“or known by the name of Issubpore, in the previous sale was Rs. 50; “etc., within the district of Jessore.” *Vide* Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, II.

It then mentions the Parganahs, and 605.
that the highest bid for each of them

attained. Another, and undoubted advantage was that, the estates were by these means reduced to manageable sizes, and that the new class of Zamindárs that came in were neither so improvident nor so unaccustomed to business as their predecessors; but they, the successors, belonged, we should say, to a lower, or inferior grade in the social scale. The following two chapters demand more attention from us than most of the preceding ones. They give a narrative of the "early attempts to reclaim the Sunderbuns," i.e., from 1784 to 1800, and an account of the establishment of the Chándkháli Sub-Division in 1786, respectively, which we shall consider together.

Mr. Westland says that, the Sundarban route was, in Mr. Henckell's time, nearly the same as that now existing, *vid* "Kochua, Khulná, Chándkháli, and by the rivers leading past Káliganj." Some time before that, however, it was evidently very different, for, in the "map of the Eastern Parts of Hindoostan," given with Mr. Sandeman's *Selections*, Vol. IV, and said to be "drawn chiefly from actual surveys," 1769,* we find, what is marked as "the Sunderboud Passage," between the Balishwar and Pasar rivers, to have been along a river running apparently, from where Morrellganj *alias* Saráliyá is, down to the meeting of the Pasar and Marjáltá rivers, some 60 to 70 miles below Khulná. It is not at all surprising to learn that, this wild and uncultivated tract was infested with robbers, and *Dácoits*; and, Mr. Henckell, in 1782 or 1783, established for the security and convenience of those having to take the route given in the report, three *ganjes* or *Bázárs*; one at Kochua, on the Bhánuab, another at Chándkháli on the Kabadak; and a third at a clearance made by Mr. Henckell himself, and called after him, Henckellganj, on the Khalindá, written as "Hingulgunge" in the Revenue Survey Map, and thus all but effacing its history.

To Mr. Henckell must be accorded the high honor of being the founder of the scheme for the reclamation of the Sundarban adopted by the Government.† He submitted, on the 4th of April

* Rennell's Sundarban map bears date A.D. 1781: he was appointed, when a Captain in the Bengal Army, in 1767, Surveyor-General on only Rs. 300 per mensem. That post is now held, and we believe deservedly so, by Colonel H. E. L. Thuillier, on just ten times that salary.

† But, he was not evidently the first British officer who leased out waste lands of the Sundarban, as the following extract from the *Statistical Reporter*, Vol. I, headed "The Sunderbuns," will show:

"In 1774 A.D., Mr. Claude Rossell, as Collector-General of the 24 Pargunnahs granted leases under the authority of Government for clearing waste lands in the Soonderbuns, immediately south of the cultivated tracts of land between the Hooghly river and Channel Creek on the west, and the Roymungal on the east. At that time it would appear that the Roymungal was the boundary between the 24 Pargunnahs and Jessore."

1784, a plan for the clearance of these waste lands, on these terms : the grantee to be allowed 200 *bigás* free of rent,—out of how many *bigás* it is not stated,—and on the remainder he was to pay on the fourth year, a rental of 2 annas ; on the fifth year, 4 annas, on the sixth year, 6 annas, and on the seventh year the maximum amount, 8 annas. This proposed measure was approved of, and Mr. Henckell, in addition to being Judge, Magistrate, and Collector, became “Superintendent for the cultivation of the Soonderbuns” which was the designation of this new post, the first created in connection with the Sundarban. Some degree of success attended Mr. Henckell’s scheme at first, so that he in 1787 considered it to be “a great success ;” but he had soon to encounter opposition from the border Zamindárs, who claimed the new clearances, and probably rightly so, as belonging to their Zamindáris. Mr. Westland says that, “as the Pergunnahs were divisions which bore reference to the land revenue system, they did not extend southward of the cultivation, and land which was yet unreclaimed belonged to no Pergunnah at all, and therefore was within no Zamindári settlement.” But Mr. Westland will find, on a reference to the general register in the local collectorate, that the *mouzas* within each Pargánáh were clearly specified, and the zamindárs had, therefore, every right to each one of them, whether cultivated or not, as lands of both descriptions were given over to them, with the full knowledge and consent of the Government. Besides, Mr. Westland reasons on the assumption that, the lands reclaimed by Mr. Henckell’s Taluqdárs were then cleared and cultivated for the first time ; this we emphatically deny. We consider that the probabilities were, that they were cultivated before, but had for some cause or another, similar to what we witness even now-a-days, relapsed into jungle.

On the whole, despite the obstacles Mr. Henckell had to contend with, his scheme was partially successful. One of the Government clearances, and there appear to have been several of them, was Chándkháli ; where Mr. Henckell, in 1786, established a sub-division—the very first of this class of establishments in Bengal—under Mr. Foster, who was directed to take “cognizance of civil and criminal matters of no great importance within thirty miles of his station,” and to grant licenses and receive rent for honey and wax within the Sundarban. Mr. Foster only remained there for a couple of years, and then the establishment was removed to Murli. Enclosed by a masonry wall, fast crumbling under the rude hand of time, is still to be seen the residence of the sub-divisional officer, a small brick-built house in a ruinous state, having three rooms and a verandah, but minus the roofing, which having been supported by rafters, probably *sundri* ones, has come bodily down. The walls too will most likely soon tumble down.

Regarding the cultivation of the Sundarban *prior* to the British rule, we may quote the words of Clive, as he wrote to the Court of Directors in 1758, December 31st:

"The extent of the Pergunnah of Cunev Turies is unknown, it reaches as far as Gunga Saugor to the south, the Sunderbunds to the east; the revenue it formerly yielded, we are informed on good authority, amounted to 40 lacks of rupees, but the greater part of this Pergunnah is uncultivated, uninhabited, and overgrown with jungle. The rents of it amount to no more than Rs. 2,925-9-0, and we pay the Nawab only Rs. 562-8-0."*

We may also here quote from the Rev. Mr. Long's "Introduction" to his *Selections*, (the first volume of which has only yet made its appearance, we regret to say), regarding the early cultivation of the Sundarban *subsequent* to the advent of the British Government. "That Captain Tolley" (? Tolly) "is mentioned in 1766 as busy about a factory on the borders of the Sundarban, or passage through the woods." The canal to the south of Calcutta, spanned by Hastings' Bridge, is called after this officer, as well as Tollyganj in the suburbs.

"The district and its head-quarters" from 1781 to 1810, forms the title of the next chapter. The names of the district officers up to 1815 are given, and heading this list, the most prominent among them are those of Messrs. Tilman Henckell and Richard Locke. Among the others, we may notice the name of Mr. Richmond Thackeray, father of the celebrated novelist, who acted as Collector in 1805. There was another Thackeray also in the Bengal Civil Service, and doubtless a relative of the late successful author: in 1766, Mr. William Makepeace Thackeray landed in Calcutta as writer, was posted to the Secretary's office, and was in the following year appointed cash-keeper.† Among the modern district officers of Jessore, the three best known to the people for their ability, zeal, energy, and activity are, rather strange to say, an Englishman, an Irishman, and a Scotchman, *viz.*: Messrs. Francis Lestock Beaufort, Edmund Weldon Malony, and James Monro, which is the order in which they joined the district. All of them are, we are glad to say, still living, and only one, the first of the trio, just retired from the service and the country for good, after an arduous official career of more than one-third of a century. We may here appropriately add, that, the Uncovenanted, or Subordinate Judicial Service, was established in 1832, or somewhat less than half a century ago, by the *fiat* of Lord William Bentinck, and the following are the names of the two officers gazetted to the district, on the 20th March of that year, thus:—

* The Rev. J. Long's *Selections*, † Ibid, 447, and 504.
1. 152.

“Moulavie Ickram Ullee, Principal Sader Amin, and Mr. J. N. Thomas, Sadr Amin.”

The boundaries of the district appear to have undergone various changes at different times, and the Magistrate's and Collector's jurisdictions were not concurrent. Pabna and Faridpúr were districts created subsequent to the Permanent Settlement; the latter in 1814. The last rectification of the boundaries was as late as 1863, when a large number of estates were transferred from Jessore to Faridpur and *vice versa*.

About 1790, the head-quarters of the district was transferred from Murli to its present location, then known as Sâhibganj, for the other name given to it by the natives, *Kashâ*, simply signifies in the vernacular “a town.” When Mr. Henckell arrived at Murli he appears to have found a house there, styled by him “the factory;” no doubt one of the cloth factories of the Company, which must have been a handsome structure to have been worth Rs. 18,650 at that time, when labour and materials could be obtained so very cheap. At the outset the Government had, we are told, 500 *bigâs* in and about the existing station, taken from the Râjâ of Chanchrâ, but it has dwindled down considerably, owing, evidently, to the carelessness and neglect of the local authorities. That which remains to the Government within the station is called “*Sâhib-dakl*,” a corruption of, no doubt, “*Sâhiber dakhal*,” or “the Sâhib's possession,” from which it may be conjectured that the place acquired the name “Sâhibganj” on the officials locating themselves there, or if it had the name before that, then from some Musalmân grandee of that ilk residing there, who bore the Muhammadan title of Sâhib. It may be mentioned that the largest *mahall* within Sirkâr Khalfatâbâd was in Akbar's time “Jesar” (Jessore), *alias* “Rasûlpûr,” the latter an obvious Muhammadan designation. It is called by these names in Todar Mall's rent-roll of 1582, given in Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, *vide* Jour. As. Soc., B., N. S., Vol. XLII, p. 217. This shows that the Hindû name of Jessore was giving way at that time to the Muhammadan one of Rasûlpûr, or rather the latter was then attempted to be substituted for the former. The insalubrity of the place is recorded from the earliest times, and of the several early district officers, two of them died there, *viz.*, Mr. A. M. Willock, on the 18th, or 20th September 1807, and Mr. E. Parker, on the 18th September 1809. Their tombs, or rather tomb-stones, must have been destroyed long ago, for in the *Bengal Obituary*, the oldest monumental tablet at Jessore is stated to be inscribed thus:—

Sacred to the memory of
John Robert Carruthers,
of the Bengal Civil Service, who departed this life
on the 10th July 1831, at this station.
Aged 21 years and 11 months.

In the *Calcutta Review*, vol., xxxii, p. 15, it is mentioned by Captain Sherwell, that Lieutenant Hugh Morrison, 4th Regiment B. N. I., is supposed to have died, at the station of Jessore, of jungle fever in 1818, as the last entry in his Field-book, dated the 28th February of that year, contains these affecting and melancholy lines:—"I am so ill that I can no longer carry on the survey; I have therefore got bearers to carry me by *dawk* to the station of "Jessore." He, and his brother, Lieutenant W. N. Morrison, Bengal Engineers, surveyed that tract of the Sundarban lying between the Húglí and Bará Pangassiyá rivers, during the early part of the present century. The latter officer died some three years before his brother, having been killed by a grape shot in an attack on a Gurkhá stronghold on the 3rd June 1815. Thus perished these heroic brothers in the execution of their duties, far apart from one another.

At one time it appears to have been in contemplation to shift the head-quarters of the district to Mahinúdpúr, but somehow the plan was not carried out.

"Famines and Remedial Measures" for four years, commencing from 1787, form the burden of a chapter of nearly five pages in length. Starting as it does, it can of course give us no information of the previous famine, namely, that of 1784, when in Calcutta an embargo on the exportation of grain had to be laid, on account of the prices for that commodity being greatly enhanced. Owing to the combined action of an unusually high inundation and a severe cyclone, and doubtless the latter was accompanied by that destructive agent a storm-wave, a grievous famine was wrought in 1787 and 1788, which was felt most acutely in the eastern districts. The cyclone referred to by Mr. Westland as having occurred a few days after the 20th October 1787, actually took place on Friday the 2nd November, and the following account of it, as it was felt in Calcutta, is taken from Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. I., page 213:—

"The violence of the storm on Friday last exceeded any that has been experienced in Calcutta for these 20 years past. The gale commenced about 12 o'clock the preceding night, and continued "with occasional intermissions and increasing violence till about 11 o'clock A.M. the next day. The effects of its fury have not been less general than severe. Among many other accidents too numerous to particularize, about five thousand boats were cast away on the river between this and Berhampore; a brick house "in Cossitollah blown down; upwards of fifty thousand maunds "of grain lost in Calcutta: and at Barrackpore many of the buu-galows much damaged, though none entirely destroyed."

By way of remedial measures we find that the transportation of grain was temporarily suspended, monopolies prohibited, and the

surplus of grain belonging to traders was directed to be sold by public auction, and the proceeds were to be disbursed among the distressed, or given to the owners of the grain, at the discretion of the Magistrate. These were, to say the least, high-handed and arbitrary proceedings ; and Mr. Henckell did not relish the restriction to free trade that these orders imposed, and judiciously recommended that they should be withdrawn, which was accordingly done. This produced its natural beneficial effects, in inducing traders to bring in further supplies to the district. He also persuaded the Rájá of Chanchrá to make advances to his tenants, amounting in all to about Rs. 5,000, and he obtained from the Board a grant of Rs. 15,000 for similar purposes, and Rs. 6,000 for the repair of the damaged embankments.

Immediately following the scarcity of 1790, occurred another dreadful famine in the next year, caused by drought, and which necessitated the partial suspension of the revenue, amounting to, we are told, Rs. 69,000. Tanks were ordered to be opened out for the irrigation of the fields, and Zamindárs were told, that they could obtain advances on security of their estates to maintain tanks, reservoirs, etc., but not a single one of them responded to the offer.

The Government in order to provide against scarcity in future, established in 1794, a couple of large public granaries, one at Bábukhálí, close to Maguráh, and the other at Sharganj, close to Phultalá, but this plan proved a complete failure, and had to be abandoned within a period of seven years.

The ensuing chapter of three pages is devoted to "Floods and Embankments" for fourteen years, beginning with 1787. Expensive and substantial embankments had to be constructed and maintained in those days to prevent the country being swamped and the crops destroyed, which always occurred when they were breached, or over-topped by the waters of the flood, which used to sweep down in almost resistless fury in their course to the sea. In 1801 Captain Mouatt was deputed to put the embankments in an efficient state, as Government suspected that Mr. Jennings, the Superintendent of Embankments, had not done his duty in this respect. The Government appear to have attended to the embankments up to 1811.

The frequency of inundations in the districts in times past is accounted for by Mr. Westland in this way : he considers the excess waters of the Ganges to have been formerly discharged by rivers running through it, such as the Nabagangá, the Kumár, and the Chitrá, and he might well have added, the Bháirab also. The opening of the Madhúmatí river is also supposed to have caused the inundations, as when it became fairly opened, the district was less subject to be flooded. These causes had, no doubt, a good

deal to do with the inundations, but it must be recollected that, as Deltaic action goes on, the level of the country is gradually raised, and becomes, of course, less liable to be submerged.

Less than a couple of pages gives us a brief sketch of the "establishment of the excise" for a score of year, commencing from 1790. It sets forth that the Muhammadan Government allowed spirits to be distilled on payment of a small tax stated by the Collector to have been in B. S. 1032 (A. D., 1625,) "a tax, of Re. 1-10" from the distillers. The British found, it is said, the Zamindars in possession of this source of revenue, and it is stated to have formed an integral portion of the assets of their holdings, at least of such of them as sanctioned the manufacture of spirits, for all do not appear to have done so. We may add,* and it does seem *prima facie* strange, that the Muhammadans only patronised the liquor, according to the authority of the Collector, but they do not appear to have at any time strictly adhered to the precept prohibiting the use of strong drink inculcated in the *Korán*, for there is abundant proof in the *Ain-i-Akhbari* that the grandees of comparatively so strict a court as Akbar's, indulged in this pernicious habit to excess.

At first the British Government levied a license fee from every distiller and vendor, the amount of which was fixed by the Collector, but in 1792 the stills were required to be kept in some fixed place, and they were divided into two classes, and charged respectively, annas 12 and annas 6 *per diem*. Vendors were exempted from any tax whatsoever, and the tax upon *tári* was declared to be 25 per cent. of the rent of the trees from which it was drawn.† At the outset, in 1794-95 A. D., there appears to have been as many as 151 stills, which realised, however, only Rs. 567. A few years afterwards, in 1801-2, the collections on this head were estimated at Rs. 5,000. In 1868-69, the aggregate excise revenue in the district, amounted to Rs. 35,573, showing how immensely the taste for spirituous drinks has increased among the inhabitants since the present *regime*. Is this well? We think that most people will concur with us in considering it a deplorable, but probably inevitable, result of the advance of civilisation.

* * In the accounts of the Burdwan Ráj revenues of A. D. 1762, given in the Rev. J. Long's *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, Vol. I., pp. 342-344, no such item is to be found.

† This tree is the *Tál*, or fan palm, (*Borassus flabelliformis*, Linnaeus,) and does not appear to be now used for this purpose within the district. The mode in which the sap is drawn, thus graphically described by Abul Fazl in the *Ain*, Mr. Blochmann's

Translation, Vol. I., p. 70 : "The *Tar-tul*, and its fruits, resemble the cocoa-nut and its fruits. When the stalk "of a new leaf comes out of a branch, "they cut off its end, and hang a "vessel to it, to receive the out-flowing juice. The vessel will fill "twice or thrice a day. The juice "is called *Tári*; when fresh it is "sweet; when it is allowed to stand "for some time it turns sub-acid, and "inebriating."

A few remarks on drugs, in which category are enumerated *ganjá* and *bláng*, or hemp, opium, and other more or less deleterious narcotics, concludes the chapter under notice. It appears that the hemp plant, (*Cannabis sativa*, Willdenow,) was largely cultivated in various parts of the district, principally about Keshabpúr, and in 1809, the Collector estimated the outturn of *ganjá* to be from fifty to sixty thousand *máns*, and the price was, it is said, from Rs. 4 to 5 per *mán*. It is not stated when the cultivation of hemp ceased to be pursued in the district. Opium was, it appears, largely sold in Jessore before the Government became aware of the fact. In 1815 four vendors were appointed for its sale in the like number of places in the district, the names of which are, we regret to find, omitted in the report.

"Coinage and Currency," from 1793 to 1807, occupy a chapter of a little more than a single page. During the close of the last century, we are informed, half the Government demand was paid in gold, and in the early part of the current century, "one-third of the currency was in gold." Rapidly, from 1815, the silver coinage became abundant, and gradually superseded the more precious metal. It is a pity that the British Government did not endeavour to uphold the gold currency, or at all events maintain a double currency of gold and silver, for the continuous fall now-a-days in the value of the latter metal, and especially the loss in transactions in exchange with European countries, has almost brought the State to the brink of bankruptcy. But the Court of Directors decided as far back as A. D. 1758, that a gold currency was not so well suited for the country as a silver one, *vide* the following extract from their letter of the 3rd March of that year, given in the Rev. J. Long's *Selections*, Vol. 1, p. 132: "As the treasure by the ships unavoidably consists of gold, which we are sensible is not so proper for Bengal as silver, we have recommended it to the President and Council of Fort George to exchange as large a part of it as they can into bullion, or rupees."

Copper coinage was not current, we are informed, up to 1811; but Mr. Westland states on this head, "That either piece existed somewhere or it was in contemplation to supply them." *Pais* were certainly coined long anterior to the above date, the first of them being struck in Calcutta in 1782,* the next, ten years afterward, marked "O.V.C. 1792," on the obverse, and bore a shield and crest on the reverse. The first quarter-anna piece was struck in Calcutta in 1795, and the next in the following year: it had the following inscription on the obverse:

سنة جلوس ۳۷ شاه عالم بادشاه

* They were actually coined at Palta to the *Rupi*, *vide* Prinsep's "Useful Tables," *Jour. As. Soc.*, B, 1840, by contract, and 192 of them went

"In the thirty-seventh year of the reign of the Emperor Sháh A'lam."

On the reverse these words "*ek pái síká*," were inscribed in the following three characters, Bengálí, Persian, and Deva Nagri.

We may add that, no copper coin was evidently coined at Murshidábád, or anywhere else in the Province of Bengal, by the native Government. We hope these additional facts which we have supplied will not be deemed out of place here, nor wholly uninteresting.

Paper currency, or Government Bank Notes, were heard of for the first time in August 1, 1809, when they made their appearance in the local treasury accounts.

The following chapter of a couple of pages or so gives a succinct *résumé* of "the Collector's duties," under which head are enumerated, "collection of land revenue," "Shá's management," "assessment," "stamps," "resumption," "*pán̄ya*, or first fruits," and "annual tours." There is nothing here calling for particular notice, but it may be mentioned as a curious circumstance that Mr. Henckell in 1790, incurred the following expense to celebrate the *Pán̄ya*, viz:—"fire-works, Rs. 65; tom-tom, Rs. 7; dancing girls, Rs. 35; dancing boys, Rs. 15;" etc. It is characteristic of the Government of that day, that they declined to reimburse Mr. Henckell for the expenditure on the entertainment, because it was without precedent, and for no other reason.

A comparatively long chapter describes the "Reform of the Administration of Criminal Justice," 1791, the most prominent feature of which was that the Magistrate superseded the *Dároghah*, and which fact we have referred to previously. It is a rather significant fact, showing how the Musalmáns have been displaced by the Hindús in Government service, that whilst in 1793 all the *Dároghahs* of the various *Thánáhs*, with a single exception, were Muhammadans, fifty years afterwards there were only two of that caste among a dozen *Dároghahs*, the rest being Hindus. This is, no doubt, one of the principal causes for the discontent, we may almost say disaffection, which pervades the Musalmán community throughout British India; and considering that they were the dominant class when the British conquered the country, it must be admitted that they have a valid ground for complaint, and that they have been harshly dealt with in a great many ways.

Then we have a chapter of about a couple of pages, headed "The Civil Judge's Authority Extended," for eight years, commencing from 1793. In order to show the Judge's over-bearing style of treating his brother-officers, the writer of the report instances a curious case. The gentleman who held that post, Mr. Melvill, evidently in 1800, fined the Collector Rs. 200 for daring to prefer a petition for a review of a judgment passed by him, Mr.

Melville, in which he had dismissed a case brought against certain traders for neglecting to take out licenses for the sale of *ganjá*, and awarded them Rs. 5 compensation, which was ordered to be realised by way of a fine from the "Honorable Company." This is far more than the High Court have yet attempted to do, and which tribunal has always acted with extreme moderation, despite the apprehension and dislike with which it is regarded by those executive and judicial officers of all classes, in the Mofussil, who are prone to high-handed proceedings, and have an utter disregard of the laws of the land.

A short but interesting chapter is devoted to "Early notices of Trade and Agriculture," from 1788 to 1805. Almost all the marts, flourishing in 1793, are still in existence, but, as was to be expected, the principal ones then are not so now; notably Fákirhát on the Bháirab, which from being the second in importance in the whole district, has dwindled down to quite an insignificant place; whilst, on the other hand, Katchánpúr, then considered of little importance, is at present the largest mart, where according to "The Statistical Reporter," in 1874-75, the quantity of sugar manufactured was 1,56,475 *mans*, and *chitta-gun*, or molasses, 1,56,630 *mans*. There also appear to have been bázars at Gopálganj, on the Madhúmati, and Mirganj, which are not specified in the report under review, but are marked as such in the map of 1769 given with the fourth volume of Mr. Sandeman's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*.

Of the products of the district reported in 1791, we find among food-grains, rice, and the vetches, *kallá* and *masuri*; cocoanuts and betelnuts were then, as now, sent out in large quantities, and tobacco to a much greater extent than at present. Cotton, here, as elsewhere in Lower Bengal, is now-a-days produced in infinitesimal quantity, but then it was largely grown; the local manufacture of cotton goods was considerable: it is now almost *nil*. Sugar was even then an article of export, and it is recorded that 10,000 *mans* were despatched to Calcutta for sale in 1791.

Regarding indigo, Mr. Westland says, "from the absence of indigo in the 1791 list of exports, we may justly conclude that, no indigo was then manufactured;" and then goes on to state "that, it was introduced by Europeans."

Indigo was an article of commerce in India from remote times, and ancient classical authors designate it as *indicum*. Pliny shows how good *indicum* could be detected from inferior stuff. He says, to quote his words as translated: "The proof hereof is by fire, for cast the right *indico* upon live coals, it yieldeth a flame of most excellent purple." In the 17th century it was denominated "the devil's dye" in Europe, and its use was expressly prohibited by an imperial edict, bearing date

1764. It formed, we are told by Professor Royle,* "a prominent article of importation during the first century of their"—the East India Company's—"commerce." It was largely manufactured about Agrá by the Dutch. Bernier mentions in a letter to Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer, dated from Delhi, the 1st July 1763, that the Dutch "purchase of anilar indigo, gathered 'in the neighbourhood of Agrá, particularly at Bianes, two 'days' journey from the city, whither they go once every 'year, having a house in the place. " *Vide Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire*, translated by Irving Brock, Calcutta, Lepage and Co., Vol. I, p. 330. In the foot-note to page 156 of the appendix to *Jours As. Soc.*, 1836, it is stated that, "the proclamation does not mention indigo: but about this 'period"—1681—"there was a large contract for its supply to 'the English at Agrá, and much loss was sustained, as it found, 'at that juncture, no ready sale either in Persia or England." In 1784, we find that Mr. Kelle levied a toll of *Siká* Rupis 2 per 100 *mans* for indigo passing his canal between the Rapparám and Halhi rivers, as will be seen from a reference to Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, I, 35. From the same work, p. 209, we learn that the East India Company, as far back as 1787, gave great encouragement to the manufacture of indigo; and in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IV, it is stated that there was an indigo factory in existence in 1790, on the banks of the Bhagirathi.

The following letter, dated February 4th, 1788, from Mr. B. Boyce, to the address of the Governor-General in Council, regarding the manufacture of indigo, is most curious, and will, we think, amply repay perusal:—

"Indigo, which is now made in the rainy season, should be
 "made in the dry weather, the vegetation in the rainy season
 "being too rapid, and forces the plant to apparent maturity before
 "the dye is formed. And river and well water should be used
 "instead of tank water, which, from having washed the surfaces
 "of the earth, is highly impregnated with alkaline salt, that ac-
 "celerates the fermentation before the dye has been sufficiently
 "loosened from the plant; there being no country in the world
 "that more abounds with alkaline salts than this, which I now
 "take upon me to assert, are the real chemical bases on which our
 "saltpetre is formed, by the acid of the air, for the natural pro-
 "duce of which India has been remarkable from time immemorial.
 "Another obstacle from the present mode of supplying the
 "plant is, that by making the quantity in two months which
 "they should in eight, whatever the quantity of dye there
 "may be in the plant, if not totally destroyed before it can
 "get to the works (on account of the immense distance which

* *Productive Resources of India*: London, 1840, page 95.

"it is brought), is considerably lessened, and this is what was acknowledged by the gentlemen who were called upon to examine my indigo, which I shall beg leave to quote literally :—

"We have seen specimens made by different persons nearly equal to that (my indigo), but the process is so expensive, that 'no one has found his account in making any quantity.' The physical reason is this, that from the time blood ceases to circulate in an animal, or sap in a vegetable, actual, though not vulgarly perceptible, putrefaction commences, on account of the alkaline and acid particles coming in contact for want of motion; this being the mode of dissolution, the purest of those salts and oils which alone constitute the dye of indigo, are either evaporated or changed into a putrid phlegm of insipid matter, unless prevented by instantaneously manufacturing the plant as soon as it is cut; but how much sooner this dissolution is liable to take place, I leave you to judge, when the very menstruum, or water itself, is charged with one of the first principles of putrefaction, an alkaline salt." *

In this district, according to Mr. Westland, the first indigo factory was established at Rupdiyá in 1795, by Mr. Pond, who is described in the Government records as "a free merchant under covenant with the Court of Directors." Next in 1796, we have Mr. Tuft, who was allowed to establish indigo works in Mahmúdsáhn,—we give the name of the place correctly. The Jingágáchlá factory belonged originally, about the beginning of the present century, to Mr. Jennings, and the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Anderson, built factories at Daulatpúr, Barandi and Nilganj in 1801.

It is as well to state here that we find from Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. II, p. 102, that the following appointments were announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of June 13th 1793 :

"The Governor-General in Council has been pleased to appoint Mr. David Vanderhayden, Commissioner in Behar; and Mr. John Fleming, Inspector of Drugs and Indigo in the room of Mr. Lyon Prager".

The above extract show that the appointment of "Commissioner" was created during the past century, and that there was at the time an officer to look after drugs and indigo, which facts are nowhere adverted to in the report under review, and must have, therefore, been unknown to the writer thereof.

The immense progress of commerce within the last eighty years in the district may be judged from the fact prominently noticed by Mr. Westland, that whilst in 1795 the trading capital was estimated to be less than nine lákhs of Rupees, the profits alone from trade were, under the certificate tax of 1868, assessed at Rupees thirty-

* Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, vol. I, p. 231.

two lákhs ! This is undoubtedly due to the peace and security conferred on the country by the beneficent British rule, which certain vernacular journals are pleased to deride as oppressive and injurious to the interest of the natives : comment on such conduct is superfluous.

Under the head of "Public Communications," we are supplied with information regarding "roads," "traffic," and the post. As to the first of them, we find it stated in the report, that the public road from Calcutta to Dháká passed through Jessore, and this fact, it is said, is noticed in a letter, dated 1791. The said road we find distinctly marked in the map of 1769, (*Vide Mr. Sandeman's Selections*, Vol. IV,) where it is shown as entering the district at Jingágúchhá, and passing through Chanchrá, Dáitálá, and Mahmúdpúr, and leaving it at a place called Haziganj, or "Hadgigngc," on the banks of the Madhúmatí, which name we cannot find in the Revenue Survey Map. Mr. Westland mentions two other older roads, one leading from Jessore, *viâ* Jhenidá to Kumárháli, and next from the same place to Khulná ; but there is nothing stated of another road marked on the map of the last century, just quoted, which branched from the main road near Bangram, and proceeded by a circuitous way to Mirzaganj, and thence, with a slight *detour* to the east, direct to Mahmúdpúr, where it rejoined the trunk road. These roads were, we are told, "little more than uncared-for tracts," as the traffic was probably very inconsiderable, and this is pretty clearly proved by the fact that the Collector estimated that there were less than one hundred carts throughout the district in 1794, and only half-a-dozen of them could be obtained at the station of Jessore in 1810.

According to Mr. Westland, "a regular postal line was kept up "between Calcutta and Jessore " as early as 1790, as well as one from Jessore to Kumárháli *viâ* Jhenidá, and another to Jaynagar *viâ* Klishara. But the posts maintained in the above several places were evidently exclusively restricted to the conveyance of official correspondence, and not open to the public ; for in Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, Vol. II, p. 51, there appears a "table "of rates of postage from Calcutta to different places," dated September 29th, 1791, and signed by C. Cockerell, Post Master General, where neither Jessore, nor any other place within the district, is specified. Baqirganj and Ráimangal are, however, mentioned therein.

The first Civil Surgeon of Jessore appears to have been Dr. Henderson, who was appointed, we learn, as far back as 1784, at the suggestion of Mr. Henckell. To him succeeded Dr. Anderson, referred to before as being engaged in the manufacture of "the blue dye."

In 1789, and again in 1802, we are told that the Collector submitted an estimate of the population of the district, amount-

ing to respectively, 1,056,109 and 1,200,000. The extent of the district was of course then very different from what it is now, and the estimates were altogether haphazard ones. From the "Memorandum on the census of British India of 1871-72," as officially presented to Parliament,* we find Jessore, exclusive of the Sundarban, is stated to have an area of 3,658 square miles, 4,247 villages, 313,660 inhabited houses, and 2,075,021 inhabitants. The differences between the two former estimates and the result of the last attempt—for it cannot, in good sooth, be pronounced to be any thing else—at numbering the people, are very striking indeed.

A regular traffic in slaves appears to have been carried on in this district; and Mr. Westland states that, during the last century, one *Cesar* is referred to in the Magistrate's letter of the 14th March 1785, as belonging to Mr. Osborne of the Salt Department. We may add that, slaves were openly sold in Calcutta about this time. There were numerous advertisements on the subject, and here is one of 1770, quoted by us in our "Historical and Topographical Sketch of Calcutta," published during the past year, page 71:

"To be sold.—Two French Hornmen, who dress hair and shave, and wait at table."

In the Rev. J. Long's *Selections*, Vol. I, p. 383, we find that Captain Ross, who was murdered at Keima in the Sundarban, in 1764, had two slaves with him at the time, named Phillis and Nicola; they were cruelly treated by the murderers, who were the crews of the several boats, and effected their escape by swimming ashore.

The writer of the report mentions that private individuals were in the habit of confining people during the last century, and it is referred to as a "custom" in 1792. In Tytler's "Considerations on the state of India," a work published in London, 1816, the following entry occurs:—

"C. P., Jessore. An order to all Indigo Planters to prevent their imprisoning any one."

An account of the Sydpur Trust Estate, from 1814 to 1823 occupies a short separate chapter. The Government, it appears, took possession of it in 1816, owing to the two Trustees who had then charge of it quarrelling among themselves. This estate was bequeathed in 1814 by its owner, Haji Muhammad Mohsin, mainly for the benefit of the *Imambara* at Hugli, but the proceeds thereof the Government have divided between that and the Hugli College, the latter getting two-ninths of the net annual value of the endowment, which is Rs. 70,000. This was certainly not the intention of the donor, and it was decidedly unfair towards the

* Supplement to the Statistical Reporter, Vol. I, p. 13.

Muhammadan community; but this has since been altered, and the money restricted to Muhammadan uses.

"The Origin of Cholera" forms the startling title of another and last chapter under Part III of the Report. Mr. Westland has here fallen into the popular error of supposing that cholera originated in Jessore in 1817, *vide* our "Note on the History of Cholera in India," which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* of April, 1873.* We may add that Dr. John Macpherson's admirable work on the "Annals of Cholera," published in London in 1872, contains abundant evidence to satisfactorily prove that, the disease was prevalent in this country long prior to the advent of the British in India. Regarding the epidemic originating in Jessore in 1817, Dr. Macpherson thus writes:—

"The great epidemic of 1817 is usually described as having commenced at Jessore; but in that year there was a fatal case of cholera in Fort William in the month of March, which attracted no attention. In May and June the disease was raging epidemically in Kishnaghur and Mymensing. In July it was at Sovereignge in the Dacca district, and as high up the river as the large city of Patua, and it did not reach Jessore till August, and not till after the middle of that month. It broke out at Calcutta on much the same date, or a few days earlier. In both places it caused great consternation, but the greatest in Jessore."

The foregoing quotation conclusively shows that, there is no foundation for the supposition that Jessore is the birth-place of cholera, sporadic or epidemic, and therefore that evil reputation ought no longer to be attached to it. There was, however, in 1817 a virulent out-break of cholera in Jessore, and owing to the panic it caused, the courts had to be closed for a short time. The following interesting account of it, we take from Dr. Norman Chevers' "Manual of Medical Jurisprudence," Calcutta, 1870, page 415.

"Dr. Robert Tytler has left on record a vivid picture of the moral shock which the first out-break of the great cholera epidemic of 1817 produced upon the people of Jessore. The disease commenced its ravages in August, and it was at once discovered that the August of this year had five Saturdays. The number five being the express property of the destructive Siva, a mystical combination was at once detected, the infallible baneful influence of which it would have been sacrilege to question. On the night of the 29th, a strange commotion spread throughout the villages adjacent to the station. A number of *Jaijoo*s (*Jaijoo-wallahs*?) or magicians, were reported to have quitted Morully with

* In the *Madras Courier* of the 7th November 1767, mention is made of a disorder which reached Vellore, and which is stated to be "*Cholera Morbus*" *Vide* Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections*, vol. 1, p. 214.

"a human head in their possession, which they were, to be directed by supernatural signs, to leave in a certain, and to them, unknown, village. The people on all sides were ready, by force, to arrest the progress of these nocturnal visitors; for the prophesy foretold that wherever the head fell, the destroying angel, terminating her sanguinary course, would rest; and the demon of death, thus satisfied, would refrain from further devastation in this part of the country. Dr. Tytler says that on the night, while walking along the road, endeavouring to allay the agitation and to quiet the apprehensions of the people, the Judge and he perceived a faint light issuing from a thick clump of bamboos. Attracted to the spot, they found a hut, which was illuminated, and contained the images of five Hindoo gods, one of which was Seetillah, the celebrated and formidable Oolah Beebee (Our Lady of the Flute), Avatar of Kali, who, it is believed is one day to appear riding upon a horse, for the purpose of slaughtering mankind, and of setting the world on fire. In front of the idols, a female child, about nine years of age, lay upon the ground. She was evidently stupefied with intoxicating drugs, and in this manner prepared to return responses to such questions, as those initiated into the mysteries, should think 'proper to propose.' By the light of our present knowledge, we may apprehend that the poor little creature lay, thus prepared, rather as the victim, than the oracle."

In Dr. D. B. Smith's pamphlet on cholera, it is mentioned that there were no less than ten thousand deaths within two months in Jessore at that time. Mr. Westland says that Dr. Tytler at first attributed the disease to "a vitiated state of bile,"* and then to the new autumn rice being "devoured with avidity by natives of all descriptions." The patients were treated with doses of calomel and opium, and this mode of treatment was pronounced to be "always successful when given at a sufficiently early stage of the disease," but no figures have been preserved to enable us to form an independent opinion in the matter.†

We have now finished our review of the third part of the Report. We find that our article has extended to a greater length than we had anticipated at starting. We reserve the remaining portions of Mr. Westland's interesting book for future con-

* This was simply giving the signification of the designation of the disease, cholera, which is derived from two Greek words, "Cholē" and "rhea," meaning "the flow" or rather, "over-flow of bile."

† It is worthy of notice that the first out-break of cattle disease recognized as rinderpest in this country, was

discovered and announced by Dr. Charles Palmer, formerly Civil Surgeon of Jessore, *vide* his report on the Calcutta Epizootics to the Government of India, 1864, which has been re-published *in extenso* in *Jour. Agri. and Hort. Soc., B.*, vol. xiv. Appendix, pp. 41-67.

sideration ; but before concluding our present article, we have to notice a subject referred to by us in the previous number of the *Review*. Regarding Mirzanagar, we stated that, the ruins there were older than Mr. Westland represented them to be, viz., A. D. 1700, and showed, according to Stewart, that Mir Ali was Faujdár of Jessore as far back as at least A. D. 1696. We have now discovered from Mr. Blochmann's most excellent translation of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 315, that Mirzá Hasan-i-Cafawis' son, Mirzá Cafshikan, who was Faujdár of Jessore, retired and died in 1073 A. H., = 1662 A. D. This fact proves the place to have been established during the middle of the seventeenth century ; and it is further interesting, as we may reasonably infer from it, we think, that its name was derived from this Faujdár, to wit Mirzá Cafshikan.

H. JAMES RAINEY.

(To be continued).

ART. VIII.—STUDIES OF RUSSIAN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY:—

I. THE ABOLITION OF SERFAGE.

II. THE ABSORPTION OF THE CENTRAL ASIA KHANATES.

- 1.—*Haxthausen* :—" *The Russian Empire*."
- 2.—*L' Empire des Tsars* :—" *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1876.
- 3.—*Die Nomaden*. By Professor Gregorieff : St. Petersburg.
- 4.—*Schuyler's "Turkistan"* : 1876.
- 5.—*Terantief's "Russia and England in Central Asia"* : 1876.
- 6.—*Rawlinson's "England and Russia in the East"* : 1875.

THE subject of the relations of the Russian Empire to the Eastern and Western world is so enormous and complicated, that it is necessary to devote the attention to some particular portion ; and it appears to us that the French practice of publishing "studies" on particular subjects is not an inconvenient one, and worthy of adoption. No part of the policy of the Russian authorities is more interesting than that which relates to the emancipation of the serfs, which occupied the first ten years of the reign of Alexander II, and the startling annexation of the whole of the Khanate of Kokand, and portions of the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara, which has rendered remarkable the last ten years of that reign. After careful consideration of the consequences both to Russia and other States, we do not hesitate in pronouncing our opinion that both these measures have contributed largely to the benefit of mankind in the highest sense, and will compel the impartial historian to write, that Alexander II. has deserved the meed of praise from his contemporaries. It is only within the last few months that full and trustworthy material has been at the disposal of the public on either of these two subjects : how many of our readers have been able to inform themselves of the effects of the serf emancipation, and the precise position of Russia in Central Asia?

In a series of most able articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* an able writer has discussed, in a searching and vivisectioning way, such as a Frenchman only can achieve, the social state of Russia, and the results of the reform of Alexander II. That the facts are in the main correct, is evident from the circumstance, that the articles were recommended to our notice by a Russian noble at St. Petersburg. Many preconceptions and prejudices are swept

away, when we read that in Russia, in the eye of the law, in the year 1876, all classes are equal : though the name is still preserved of noble, priest, peasant, and townsman ; yet, by the process of levelling-up and levelling-down, all practical differences have died out. Provincial councils have been established by Alexander II., in which all classes meet and deliberate : but still each class sends class-representatives, and as yet the Russian has not reached the crowning goal of representation of the *whole* community, as in England and the United States. The Russian Emperor has only dared to advance half-way, and waits till a further social fusion has been made. It is an interesting problem to watch, and when the times comes as it must soon come, when the Russian nation will demand a constitution, the question then will be, whether the representation is to be of classes, or of the whole nation. The Russian people are preparing to shed blood and treasure to secure a constitution to the Southern Slavs, and will scarcely take less themselves, now that they know their own strength, and universal conscription has accustomed the whole nation to arms.

In Great Russia in the old times, as in all Aryan nations, we find traces of the existence of four classes or castes. I., the Soldier or Noble ; II., the Priest ; III., the Merchant or Townsman ; IV., the Agriculturist ; the two former formed the upper, the two latter the lower stratum of society. In Russia, as time went on, there was a further sub-division. The nobles were divided into hereditary land-owners, and life office-holders. The priesthood was sharply divided into Monastic orders and secular clergy. The merchant class soon established a difference betwixt the great merchant and the petty shopkeeper. Among the agriculturists the peasants on Crown lands found themselves occupying a separate position from those under private land-owners. A fifth, order sprang into existence from the working of the old law of military conscription, under which the soldier never returned to the position of a serf.

Outside Great Russia and kindred Little Russia were the great Republican military colonies, where there was place neither for serf nor noble, but their separate autonomy and independence has gradually been reduced. Scattered over the nation there exists a class of small freeholders, an intermediate betwixt serf and noble, of uncertain origin, corresponding to the low-whites of the United States of America, and the holder of perpetual assignments of land-revenue and limited landowners in India. It is calculated, that this class, counted two or three millions, and they will form the nucleus of the new class of small landholders, the rural middle class, which is now coming into existence.

Outside, again, the great Slavonic race, but within the Empire of All the Russians, are the subject and conquered races, in

Europe (for Asia is not within the scope of our present remarks), the Samoyede, the Finlander, the Calmuck, the Tartar, Bashkir and other Muhammadans, who have preserved their own social system and grades. In another category come the conquered Provinces of Bessarabia, Poland, the Baltic Provinces, the scattered but privileged German colonies, and the Jews.

Let us consider more closely the component parts of Great Russia. There are fifty-five millions of the peasant class, and only five or six millions of nobles, priests, and townsmen. Moreover, in the small so-called towns the residents have not adopted urban habits; they know nothing of the closely-packed tenements of wall-towns: in fact, these towns are only the large villages so familiar in India. The town population is estimated at only one-ninth of the whole population: in England it is one-third. Thus it appears that Russia is still an empire of peasants. Russia and the United States present a strong contrast, being at the extreme poles of civilisation. We may add, that this is the feature and misfortune of all Slavonic people, the consequence and cause of their inferiority: they have no accumulated capital, no store of movable wealth, no credit to be the basis of commercial enterprise. Much of the local manufacture is done, as in India, in the villages; and the manufacturing classes are not congregated in towns.

Russia never felt the generous impulse of the Crusades, never underwent the salutary discipline of the feudal system. The sovereign never had the inducement to give privileges to walled towns, as a counterpoise to the great nobles: nor had the citizens any reason for congregating in towns to protect themselves from feudal oppression. Scarcely a municipality can be said to have existed up to the time of Peter the Great.

Merchants were of old forbidden to purchase land, or even to lend to serf or noble, an admirable device for starving agriculture. Now that the serf is free, the purchase of land is free also; the nobles and the State are no longer the sole owners of the soil, and capital will flow into the land. Under the old system, the distinction between the noble and serf, though belonging to the same nation, professing the same religion, and speaking the same language, was rather that of two distinct nations than of two classes of the same nation.

The nobles were not of the type known as such in Teutonic or Romanic kingdoms. Successive sovereigns of the old Rurik and new Romanoff dynasty had studied to debase them, and had succeeded. Their number is inordinate, calculated at six hundred thousand hereditary, and three hundred thousand life-tenures. In such an army there must needs be great variety. Some of the princes, about forty, are of the old Royal blood of the Rurik dynasty

Prince Gortschakoff, the Chancellor, has in his veins the old Varangian blood of Rurik, which his sovereign has not. Other princely families are of the old Jagellon dynasty of Lithuania and Poland : others are Tartars, Circassians, or Georgians. All these are of as old and good a stock as any in Europe. Every country in Europe, Greece, Poland, Sweden, Germany, France, and even England, has representatives in the Russian nobility. The division of property among males to the exclusion of females has tended to reduce the wealth of individuals ; and the constitution of the official hierarchy has destroyed their independence. There is no material for a House of Peers in the Russian nobility.

The "Chin" or official hierarchy is one of the most wonderful devices for maintaining a system of personal Government in the sovereign. It has a semi-Chinese appearance, though of purely indigenous growth, having passed through several phases under the late and present dynasty, until in the reign of Peter the Great it assumed its present development of fourteen grades. The use of European names such as Privy Councillor, &c., is merely a blind, and means nothing but a grade. Prince Gortschakoff, and Prince Baryatinsky, the conqueror of Schamyl, are the only representatives of the first grade, and both happen to be lineal descendants of the Rurik dynasty ; but that is a mere accident : they might have been Swedes of Finland, Germans of the Baltic Provinces, Tartars of the Volga, or adventurous Frenchmen or Englishmen.

The "Chin" has privileges, or rather had, for all were nobles. By a law of Peter the Great any noble family, that for two generations failed to be represented by members in the "Chin," forfeited their hereditary nobility : thus all were compelled to enter the ranks, for a longer or shorter time. It was ingeniously arranged that every class of the community, including merchants, priests, and opera-singers, should be accommodated with a grade, which of course had a military denomination. Thus a rich merchant and a contre-tenor, could be ticketed as a Colonel ; and the successful compiler of a dictionary would be, and is actually now, rewarded with the rank of a Major-General disguised by the name of Councillor of State, which is about the third or fourth grade. Thus the whole community of those above the rank of peasant are graded, and rank is asserted in private life. Ridiculous stories are current of the sledge of a Major-General meeting another sledge in a narrow defile of the Caucasus, and without a moment's pause, pitching the opposing vehicle into a snow-drift ; when suddenly out of the overturned vehicle uprose a Lieutenant-General, who quietly repaid the compliment, and continued his journey.

All such baneful classifications of society are ruinous to the in-

dependence of a nation. Young men hunt after small posts in the public service instead of following liberal professions. Moreover, the chief privileges of this artificial nobility are gone under the levelling-up and levelling-down processes. Immunity from personal chastisement is now the privilege of every Russian, except as the result of a legal prosecution. Conscription in the army is now extended to all classes without any exception. The right to purchase land is granted to all, and the germs of self-government implanted in each province are fatal to a centralized Bureaucracy at the capital. Moreover, the voices of those not included in any "Chin," the enfranchised serfs, the millions of peasants, are beginning to be heard.

In one of the palaces of the Tsar is a statue of Alexander II. as the liberator of the serfs. Round him are clustered figures of men and women in the picturesque garments of the country, with hands of gratitude uplifted to him: what may be the inscription in Russian we know not, but in English would be inscribed the grand words:—

"Peace has her victories no less renowned than War."

We proceed now, under the guidance of the same talented writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, to examine the question of the serf. It is a singular coincidence that slavery in America and serfage in Europe perished at the same period. It is wonderful that either institution lasted so long, and it is the glory of Russia that this great reform was accomplished without the shedding of a drop of blood. Had it been delayed much longer, it would have been asserted by the people, instead of being graciously granted by the sovereign, and conceded, though unwillingly, by the nobles.

The term by which the millions of serfs were and are known, would seem to be one of insult, but that it is consecrated by usage; it is "Mujik" or "Little Man," the word being a diminutive form of the ordinary rendering of man. He is known by another name also, which is interesting as being historical, that of "Khrestian," for in the time of the Tartar domination, the rural population represented Christianity. The Slavonic peasants of Russia are by far the most numerous race in Europe, occupying in a compact block the largest area in the world. The emancipation of this vast community has been an operation of first-rate importance, and the mode of execution has been without historic parallel, as in all other nations it has been accomplished gradually. Moreover, it has been the first of a series of reforms in the national life, the effects of which will only be felt in the next century: it has not yet produced its fruit, as the serf scarcely yet is conscious of his gigantic, and now unshackled, strength, and until the

first year of next century, the entire charges incurred will not have been paid off.

It must be remembered that the peasants of the Crown were already partially free; the peasants belonging to private individuals had to pay for their land. The population may be roughly divided thus:—

Twenty-two millions Serfs of private persons;

Twenty-two millions Serfs of the Crown;

Two millions belonging to the Appanages of the Imperial Family.

Moreover, the number of serfs was gradually year by year diminishing under the operation of private enfranchisement, and the effect of military service; but it would have required a long lapse of time before it could have died out in this way. One of the great results of the Crimean war was the conviction that the salvation of the State depended upon immediate action.

It was by no means an ancient institution of Russia; it did not come into existence there until after the system had died out, or being extinguished in blood, in Western Europe. In ancient days the Russian peasant was free, and had a right, once a year, to migrate from the lord of one lord to that of another, as the farm servant of modern Europe, or the tenant-at-will of British India. About the year 1593 A. D., in the evil period after the death of Ivan the Terrible, and before the establishment of the House of Romanoff, Boris Godunov, in the name of his brother-in-law, Tsar Alexis, issued an order forbidding the annual change of lords by the serfs, and this order was not one of deep State policy, but of ordinary police. The object was to attach him to the soil, to prevent land going out of cultivation by a careless distribution of the scant stock of cultivators; for the Slav had a taste for wandering, and the motive for checking this tendency was purely economic, and in harmony with the general theory of Government of those days. The Cossack republics on the frontier offered a tempting asylum to unsettled spirits, and to run away serfs. Upon this slender basis the law worked out certain consequences, and the serf gradually became the property of the lord. The Romanoff dynasty confirmed the policy of Boris. Peter the Great bound the chain tighter by regulating the system. Registers were first made in 1720 A. D., and renewed every ten years. He armed the proprietor with Police powers, and serfage became an essential feature of the Russian administration. In a circle radiating from Moscow as a centre, the weight pressed with graduated heaviness; Siberia and the Cossack country were always free. In White Russia, Lithuania and Poland, independent and hostile kingdoms the same or a similar system had

come into existence. It seemed an irony of fate that the great Slavonic race alone should be subjected to this yoke, while the conquered provinces of Sweden, Finland, and Roumania and the Tartars were and always had been free.

As may be imagined, the system worked differently in different places, and there were a variety of local customs: but two principles underlaid them all:—

The serf must either render forced labour, or pay *Obrok* by way of compensation for this labour. A serf, wishing to be employed in a manufactory, agreed to pay a sum, and received leave to leave the soil for a term of years. The amount thus paid varied according to circumstances, and ranged from twenty-five to thirty Roubles per annum, about £4 maximum. It is stated, but it seems incredible, that there were merchants with the reputation of being millionaires, who were still serfs. The serfs of the Crown all paid *Obrok*, which appeared in the form of a land-assessment fixed on the community, they became rich and comfortable, and have supplied a type for the details of the great reform.

The system had the merit of being Patriarchal, and the same merit is asserted in favour of the American Prædial Slavery, and the savagery of the Nomad hordes of Central Asia. The effects were injurious to both parties. The male and female serfs were at the mercy of their master. None but nobles could hold land; and when land was sold, the serfs passed with them, or the land was sold alone, and the serfs remained still the property of a landless lord, showing how entirely different was the result of the measure from what was originally intended. Based upon a cruel injustice against the rights of man, it could not but be bitterly resented, though submitted to; and the wonder is that it was submitted to by a great nation so long.

Alexander I. began by freeing the serfs of the Baltic States. His brother Nicolas did all he could to soften the evil, and he dreamt of abolition, and it is asserted that in his last days he charged his son to delay the measure no longer. Literature and public opinion even in Russia had long led the way. Tourganeff and the great novel writers, like Mrs. Beecher Stowe in America, were the prophets of the great measure. Both the national and foreign elements, which ordinarily divide Russia, were united here. In some respects the movement resembled that of the first French Revolution. In former days all impulse had come from above. Peter the Great, and Catharine II., had striven to move the inert mass, and sometimes in vain; here it came from below, and was the first wave of real Slavonic feeling beating against the steps of the throne. It is by bearing in mind the origin of these movements that we can measure the wondrous change that separates the Russia of Peter the First from the Russian people of Alexander

the Second. Not only do the people know that they are the movers, but they know why the measure has been hurried on; and an old serf remarked that Russia was indebted to Napoleon the Third for the abolition of serfage, as, but for the Crimean war, it might still have been deferred for a century.

It is interesting to follow out the way in which the operation was performed. An assembly of representatives of the nobles and commons would have done nothing. The House of Nobles would have moved the previous question, and the House of Commons would have asserted the right, and refused any terms of compensation. The Emperor convoked Provincial assemblies of the nobles and laid the measure before them, as one which must be carried into effect. A Royal Commission was appointed to get it into shape, and their recommendation was much more liberal than the nobles could bear. Court intrigue was used to soften the details. Precedents in other countries were appealed to. Both Austria and Prussia had gone through the same social crisis, but in Russia it was proposed to give the serf better terms than the analogous class had obtained in those countries. Not only were they to be declared free, and grouped in communities, but each male would have a certain amount of land sufficient to support his family. The Conservative party suggested that the grant of freedom would be sufficient, but what would then have become of the enfranchised millions? They would have become, and would for centuries remain "proletaires, men with no property whatever," a class the most dangerous to the existence of society, the Red Spectre which periodically frightens France and Continental Europe out of all propriety and self-control.

An Agrarian law was consequently passed, and an expropriation took place, or what the Irish landlords would call a "spoliation," for the benefit of the public. The measure was assailed by hard terms, and called revolution; but at the root of the matter lay the question, to whom did the soil really belong, the absentee noble, or the resident cultivator? This knotty point has been argued in many languages and many countries, by men blinded by self-interest, and nowhere with greater obliquity of vision than in Ireland and British India. It is in vain to tell the resident cultivator that the acres which he and his ancestors have immemorially tilled, and the but where he and his fathers were born, are not his very own, though he is ready to pay what is due on them. Land-owners must be made to understand that the resident cultivator has parallel and co-existent rights, which can only be overridden at the risk of a rebellion. When the rights of the land-owner are so attenuated that the State has to be called in to enforce them, the State has a right to reflect whether it is right to risk the stability of the social system to enforce them.

It was fortunate for Russia that at this really awful crisis of its history there was an impartial absolute sovereign, assisted by wise councillors, approaching as near to the imaginary earthly providence as human affairs will permit. A compromise was effected. To every community of serfs was assigned a portion of land, for which they must pay the dispossessed proprietor; a maximum and a minimum standard were fixed. The enfranchised community had the option to purchase the maximum, but was compelled to purchase the minimum, to leave a good title to the proprietor for the remainder. The payment was to be made at once to the proprietor; and, when required, the State contributed to the payment on condition of being reimbursed by carefully graduated instalments of principal and interest.

Such a compromise satisfied neither party. The noble sulkily submitted, fearing worse things; the serf could not, or would not understand why he was to be deprived of what he called his land. "I am yours," he would say to the lord, "but the land is mine." In fact, the class had been successfully kept in child-like ignorance, and were at the mercy of village democrats, believing that everything was possible to the Tsar and to God. Consequently a feeling of disappointment followed the publication of the details of the measure, and the much-desired emancipation lost half its charms when unaccompanied by possession of *all* the village lands *without* payment. So strangely inequitable are the minds of men, blinded by ignorance and self-interest.

The terms of this great land settlement were that the peasant (no longer serf) should remain in possession of his house and inclosure, and a portion of the land cultivated by himself, *as his own*, on payment of a sum of money. Those who had previously abandoned agriculture and paid *Obrok*, were under no such condition. They were at liberty to take service on wages, and swelled the dangerous ranks of the proletariat class: the number of serfs thus emancipated amounted to one and a half million. The remaining agricultural classes may thus be disposed of, as they stood approximately on the first day of 1876.

Two millions still occupy the position of temporary serfs, not having paid for their land, from some cause or other: no change is effected in their position yet.

Five and a quarter millions have paid for their land and are free: and of these upwards of four millions have been aided by the State to make their payments.

Two millions in the Western Provinces and Poland were summarily enfranchised, as one of the consequences of the rebellion in 1863.

The operation has proceeded at different rates of speed, and in some provinces very languidly. In the Trans-Caucasian

Provinces the work has been completed: probably the evil was never excessive in those non-Slavonic regions. Either party can compel the other party to complete the transaction: if the terms cannot be arranged amicably it has to be referred to special courts; the amount of willingness or unwillingness of either party depends on their idea of the relative advantage or disadvantage to themselves. As would be expected in different localities a general measure must assume a different aspect in practice. Some self communities stand aloof, thinking that the land must fall into their hands some day, but the law compels them, when called upon by the proprietor, to take their minimum; and some day they may repent, when it is too late, of not having availed themselves of the full advantage offered. This was the option of purchasing as much land as would sustain the family, and this amount had to be adjusted according to the relative fertility of each province. To any one acquainted with the management of land it will at once suggest itself, that this operation over so vast an area was indeed a colossal one, as there were extreme varieties in the value of land and the local customs in different provinces.

The thirty-four provinces were divided for this purpose into three parallel zones according to the nature of soil and density of population:—

The Northern Zone with the poorest land.

The Central Zone with rich black soil and fertility.

The Steppe Zone with a scant population.

Each zone was subdivided into regions, twenty-nine in all, and a maximum and minimum standard of land assigned for each. The average assignment to each male on the three zones was three or four of the local acres, but in the northern it rose to seven; in the Steppe it mounted still higher to ten, and in the Central it dropped to two or even less. As stated above, payment could only be made gradually, and it will take a long period. The State raised a special loan, and settled with the land-owner at once by a tender of so much of this loan. The interest being at six per cent., half a century will have elapsed before the last payment is made, and not till then is the property absolute. On the other hand, the nobles have been seriously affected in their income by the transaction; their manner of living is altered; their large establishments reduced: the payments made in inconvertible loan paper has added to their embarrassments, and the wonder is that the State has weathered the great financial difficulty, and nothing but twenty years of profound peace would have enabled it to do so. Seven hundred millions of Roubles, which equals about one hundred million Sterling, has been lent by the State to

the peasant proprietors, and more will be required to bring the transaction to an end, but the money is well spent, if it heals this deep and open sore between the two constituent branches of Russian society.

For there is no middle class—the noble and the peasant proprietors are now, if not hostile, at least with opposing interests, and not united by any bond of sympathy. Both sides, for the present time at least, think that they have been deceived and injured. No doubt in the details of such a complicated transaction there has been room for unbounded rascality on the part of the corrupt servants of the State, who have made fortunes at the expense of both parties. The noble feels sore at the loss of position; he is no longer bowed down to and courted; he no longer has his own way in the neighbourhood, unless from force of character, and public estimation, it is yielded to him. The peasant proprietor, on the other hand, feels the loss of the moral and material support of his lord; he has to provide for bad seasons, and think of old age and a rainy day; he has by no means individual power yet, for he is only one of a community on whom all the old responsibility and charges of the land-owner are now placed. It is a pleasing fact that it is not in his nature to bear malice, and the old habit still clings to him of looking to the noble for friendly assistance, and addressing him in terms of respect. But it must be remembered that this generation was all born in serfdom, and cannot throw off at once the habits of its youth; a new generation will rise up, ignorant of the ways of serfs, and then will come the struggle. We leave this subject with the impression that it is one of the greatest events in history, and that the quietness and success with which it has been accomplished, is a greater triumph than any conquered province or blood-bought victory.

Great as the revolution has been externally, no internal change has as yet been made in the village community. Land has been immemorably possessed in common, and as the Commune collectively is liable for the State tax, and the instalments of the redemption-debt, the reins have been drawn tighter by the operation. The *Mujik* has only exchanged his dependence upon his lord for dependence on the Commune, of which he is scornfully, by the antagonists of the measure, called the serf. Unquestionably Commune property is the oldest form of property: it is the economic stage next in order to the nomadic or pastoral stage; gradually individuals after long *occupation* began to assert their right to separate possessions. We must not in the face of history, and our contemporary knowledge of India, consider this community of property to be a speciality to the Slavonic races. It is but a *débris* of a past world, and indicates that these races have remained in an earlier and lower stage of civilization than their neighbours.

Tacitus remarks centuries ago: "*Arva per annos mutant, et super est ager*," in these last words lies the pith of the matter. As long as population does not press upon the area of good land, the system is tolerable; but we shall see lower down that the Russians are reaching the limits within which the system can be maintained. The subject is one of intense interest, and it would be profitable to bring the customs of Russia into close comparison with those prevailing in India; but it would exceed our space.

The principle of the Commune is based upon that of a family; it is eminently patriarchal. Before the eyes of those who have been engaged in settlements of land in Northern India, from the Karmānāśā to the Indus, will rise up the memory of many such a picture as the one we propose to describe below, a picture not read in books or expressed in colours, but represented by living figures amidst the simplicity and scenery of Oriental life in India.

The Commune is known as the "*Mir*," a word which also means "the world." It has a fixed area, and generally one location only: hamlets and scattered farms are unusual. In the area is included the home lands, the out-field, waste, both arable and unculturable, and forest. The law of the land is superseded in matters agricultural by the customs having the force of law in the locality. At the head of each village is the "*Starosta*," or as the word means "old man"; under him are the grey-beards, and tithe-men, all chosen by heads of families; the remuneration is very slight. Villages are associated in groups, and over them is a "*Starchina*," who formerly was the oldest among the *Starostas*, but is now elected by the collective heads of houses: his remuneration does not exceed £14-18. In such an association there are about five or six hundred heads of families, and by them is arranged the tribute of flesh and blood, which the State levies in the form of Military Conscription.

The union of several associate Communes constitutes a *Volost* or District, at the head of which is the District Chief or *Golova*, who is elected for three years, subject to the confirmation of the officers of the State. Several *Volosts* make up a Circle, presided over by an officer of the State. A union of Circles constitutes a Palatinate, under the control of a Central Imperial Officer, the Minister of Domains.

Each village has a tribunal, composed of the *Starosta*, and two assistants, who dispose of petty cases, civil and criminal, and exercise police powers. The *Golova* and two assistants form the District Tribunal, whence an appeal lies to the Imperial Courts. The procedure of an inquiry is simple; all the men stand in a circle round the State Officer, and the matter is disposed of at once. The principle of division of land in the Commune is democratic in the extreme. Every male inhabitant has

a right to an equal share in every kind of soil; the arable and meadow land is equally divided; the enjoyment of the remainder is in common. It is obvious that with every increase or diminution of the population, a variation arises in the size of the shares, which is again seriously affected by the relative fertility, or convenient situation, of the land. In some cases attempt is made to give every shareholder his proportion of every kind of land, and his occupancy is thus broken up into numerous small plots all over the village area. In other cases an attempt is made to proportion the size of the holding to the fertility of the soil: the local customs are endless, among them is one, which is not unknown in India, by which another element of uncertainty and possible fraud is introduced,—by substituting in good land a special and shorter measuring rod for the normal rod of the neighbourhood. Under this system the number of a man's family became a source of strength and increased abundance, for though all adult males had a claim for their share of land, the members of a family had all a common home, a common board, and a common purse: so also, if a man fell into misfortune and lost everything, nothing could deprive his children of their share in the lands of the Commune.

On the other hand, nothing could be more prejudicial to the advance of good agriculture than these annual partitions, and, as the intelligence of the community advanced, it was found impossible to maintain the strict letter of the law. A periodical partition for a longer or greater term was often adopted, and a certain amount of reserve land set aside to satisfy sudden claims, and a strong feeling began to obtain that the son should succeed to the father in his particular fields. Upon such a state of things the great operation of abolition of serfage has fallen. The lands of the Commune are no longer what they used to be; a large portion is set aside as the property of the lord, to dispose of as he thinks proper: a heavy annual charge is imposed on the Mujik to free the remainder; and, until this is paid, the Commune must hold together; but there is a marked tendency in families for each member to separate his interests, to such an extent, that the expediency has been proposed of restricting this tendency, so as artificially to prevent the parcelling of the soil, and the break-up of the patriarchal system; as if it were possible to do this in Russia or India, without infringing on liberty, and opposing the natural progress of human development. The break-up of the family system is but a prelude to the break-up of the village system. The Cossack of the Oural presents us the picture of a whole province held on the principle of a "Mir," that is, all in common. In 1874 no single acre was undivided property, or at-

tached to any particular Stanitza or Cossack village, but yearly allotments were made. Such a system could not have lasted so long, except in comparatively desert regions. The tax of the State fell upon each individual, and it was necessary, therefore, that each should have the means of meeting it. The device of a three years' course of agriculture, and rules as to manuring, were palliatives of a deeply-rooted evil, which can only be cured by long periods of occupancy of twenty or thirty years, and such holdings will glide into separation of interests.

The idea, was that such a system as this would prevent "proletarianism," but in practice it has produced it. The meaning of that word is, the "production of children;" and a premium is, as it were, given to the father of the largest family, and as the culturable area, though extensive, is limited, the risk is run of the population out-running the means of existence, and the Communes become pauper-warrant. A State Commission was appointed to inquire into this question, and has reported against the maintenance of the system of collective property. There are two classes who defend it; first, the Conservative Slavophile, who consider nothing so good as good old Slavonic customs, *laudator temporis acti*;" secondly, the Radical Communist, who approaches the subject from an opposite point, but to whom the very name is a charm: the arguments of the two classes of defenders go far to destroy each other. Two classes also denounce the system: first, the practical agriculturist, who sees with regret the absence of high culture, and the waste of the good gifts of the soil; secondly, the political economist, who fights for individual liberty, and free competition.

Serfage being abolished, every existing evil is attributed to the maintenance of agricultural Communes; but the State holds the individual and the Commune jointly and severally responsible for its ordinary taxation, and the instalment of the purchase money, and will not relax its iron grasp: the weight of taxation is too heavy to allow of the ordinary method of transferring a defaulting share to a solvent shareholder, as no one will add to the burden under which his back is already bending. This consideration applies equally to Indian coparcenary tenures, and demands deep reflection. It is true that the Russian is not as yet a full proprietor, until he shall have paid off his debt of purchase, and the Indian proprietor is already free. It is true that the assessment is comparatively light, but the same great evil lies at the bottom, that such a system works against the industrious, and in favour of the idle and reckless. It will be gathered from the above that the Russian agrarian community is passing through a great crisis, and it is possible that the Commune may not survive the strain, or may come out quite changed.

Even now there exists a legal power of dissolving a Commune, if two-thirds of the constituent members agree, but few instances have occurred. Land, outside the Commune, and in independence of it, is freely bought, and many individuals are at one and the same time members of a Commune, and owners of property, once belonging to the lord. Thus two systems are working side by side, and it seems scarcely doubtful, which in the long run must triumph : at any rate, it is a problem on the grandest scale, and most interesting to watch, as Russia is passing through the phases of social transformation which her elder Western sisters accomplished centuries earlier.

We now pass to the second great measure, which has occupied so large a portion of the councils of Alexander II.—the advance of Russia to the Oxus, and its establishment in force on the confines of India. Since 1842, when an era of peace was proclaimed by the abandonment of Afghanistan, British India has, in spite of the best intentions of its rulers, by an uncontrollable law of expansion, advanced from the Jumna to the Khaibar Pass, and occupied the whole length of the navigable Indus from the mountains to the sea. In the interior of India the Provinces of Oudh, and Nagpur, have been absorbed; and on the extreme south-east, new interests have been created by the occupation of the whole western coast line of the Indo-Chinese peninsular. We seek not to explain, far less to justify the policy, which in one generation has doubled the British Indian Empire in material strength and resources; but we demand for Russia the same benevolent considerations of motives, the same allowance for circumstances, the same imperious necessity, which compels great empires to advance in spite of themselves, and allows of no retrograde policy—*vestigia nulla retrorsum*. The English in India may congratulate themselves upon having had no nomad tribes to deal with, upon being hemmed in, by impassable mountains, and by seas only passable with their permission. Within this comparatively speaking narrow area is a fertile tract of country, and a teeming population, far exceeding in wealth the whole of Asia put together, if India and China are withdrawn from the calculation.

It is some times forgotten, or perhaps entirely unknown, that for more than two hundred years during the reigns of our Plantagenets in England, the great and mighty Russia of our time was subject to the dominion of the Tartars of the Golden Horde on the Volga. It is foreign to our subject to notice that there is some justice in the assertion, that, if you scratch a Russian the Tartar will appear under the European veneer, for in fact the whole nation is admitted to have been Tartarized, in the same sense that British India, after one hundred years of domination, is becoming "Anglicised." Many Tartars adopted Christianity, and

were admitted among the Russian people; certain districts were occupied by Tartars, still remaining Muhammadans. When in due course Russia conquered and annexed the European Khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, and Bakshee Surai in the Crimea, the number of its Tartar subjects was sensibly increased.

Russia, therefore, for many centuries has had relations with Northern Asia in its whole length from the Oural mountains to the river Amoor. Commercial intercourse had always existed across the Steppes; and although no reciprocity was given, the merchant from the Oxus was always hospitably treated in, and welcomed to, the Russian dominions. The wonder is that the Russian Government for so many scores of years endured the outrageous conduct of the nomad tribes, which touched their frontier, and the abominable conduct of the settled nations on the Oxus and Jaxartes, to encourage the intervening nomads in their acts of lawlessness, without having a shadow of a grievance of their own to complain of. Under the Rurik dynasty Russia was rather an Asiatic than an European power. Shut in from the west by the Pole and the Swede, with no access to any sea-board, but that of the White Sea, Russia looked to Central Asia for the expansion of her colonies and commerce; but with the accession of the Romanoff dynasty, and notably in the time of Peter the Great, she became an European power, and for a century neglected her Asiatic interests under the pressure of new cares.

Professor Gregorieff, in an interesting essay on the relation of nomad tribes to civilized states, has shown that such neighbours must be free-booters, and that there is nothing for the civilized state but the alternative of submission to plunder, or establishing a complete authority. In dealing with mountaineers the expedient of frontier forts, and the blockade of the passes, may be adopted with some success; and this, accompanied by occasional expeditions to burn villages, destroy crops, and carry off cattle, is the policy adopted by us on the north-western, and south-eastern frontier of British India; but when vast extents of desert Steppes form the frontier, with a population of three millions, extending over an area of two thousand miles, the problem is wholly different. A long period of peace, bringing with it an accumulation of agricultural wealth, and an increased industrial population, extending the area of civilisation, only afforded a more tempting bait to the incursions of the nomad, and made the evil more intolerable. England and other civilised states have put down with a high hand the pirate of the sea; it was not likely that a great power, like Russia, could continue to tolerate the pirate of the land.

When in course of time the Russian frontier had been established beyond the Caucasus, and by a long and costly struggle Sehamyl had been subdued and made a captive in 1859, all trouble on the

side of Europe was at an end. The first forward step had in 1834, some years before, been made to convert the Caspian Sea into a Russian lake by a fortress at the point of confluence of the river Emba, and the establishment of strong positions on the east coast of the Caspian, even down to the south-east corner, where on the confines of Persia was erected the fortress of Ashuradul. Then gradually southward from the Government of Siberia, and eastward from the river Oural the advance commenced. Forts were, in 1854, erected by the Siberian colonies at Vernoe and Kastek on the river Chu, flowing into Issik Kul, under the Alexandrofsky Range; and from the west a dash was made at the point where the River Syr or Jaxartes flows into the Sea of Aral, and Fort No. 1 or Kasala, in 1853, erected there.

All this took place about the same time that the English in British India were making their great advance north-west, and settling down in strength in the Punjab, and occupying the right bank of the Indus. It is noteworthy that both Russia and England had previously made a forward move, which had ended in disaster. The English advanced prematurely on Afghanistan and had to fall back. The Russians had advanced upon Khiva under Perofski, and had encountered a great disaster. Both nations had now recovered breath; and, urged on by inexorable events, had deliberately set to work to round off a good frontier to their dominions. The English had certainly no eye to the Russians, when they occupied the Punjab; and it is only a jaundiced eye, that can view in the Russian advance to the Jaxartes any other than the imperious necessity, that, at certain epochs, controls the advance of superior on inferior nations. Had there been a strong power on the Oxus, which could control its own subjects, and maintain a decent relation with its neighbours, this advance might never have occurred. Had there been a strong Government in the Punjab, able to control licentious soldiery, it is quite certain that the English would not have crossed the Sutlej. There was no reason why Russia should not conquer Tartary, if she chose to run the risk of so hazardous a venture. England and France would have deemed it an impertinence, if any European power had intervened with advice or protest with regard to their respective advances in India or Algeria. Asia and Africa are still large enough for unlimited expansion of European nations. At any rate it is not our object at this moment to go off ground trodden by many, and by many in vain. As no earthly power can at this moment arrest the power of Russia in Central Asia, it is more dignified to make no idle protests, but to note what advantages she has gained.

In three remarkable books lately published we have a flood of light thrown on the subject. One of them is by an intelligent Ameri-

can, who with a good knowledge of Russian, and the advantage of Russian friends, visited the Khanates, and informed himself of the position of the Russians in their new conquests, though subsequent to his visit further additions have been made, and perhaps, while we are writing, a new campaign to annex two more districts may have been commenced. This book bears upon it the stamp of impartiality. If there is no hostility to the Russians, there is, on the other hand, no desire to mask their failures, or to screen their offences. The second work is by an officer of the Russian army, who took part in the campaign in Central Asia. It is the work of a thorough-going partizan, and one who is very ill-informed on matters beyond his own immediate ken, and also is entirely deficient in historical equanimity. It is stated that the author is one of those literary soldiers, who are not unknown in India. At one time he was in direct antagonism to General Kaufman, the Governor-General of Tashkend, but it was made worth his while to become the advocate of Russian policy in Central Asia, and the denouncer of the English administration in India. We read with shame some of the reckless attacks on Russia, which appear in England: the appearance in an English dress of a Russian view is both interesting and useful. The third is the well-known volume of Sir Henry Rawlinson. At any rate since the appearance of the works of Schuyler, Terantief, and Rawlinson, there is no more mystery. The precise position of affairs is exposed to the view of all.

After ten years of quiet on this side, occupied by the Crimean war and the campaign against Schamyl, in 1863, it was determined to unite the two lines, above alluded to, the one resting on the Sea of Aral and the Jaxartes, represented by the Fort No. 1, Ak Musjid or Perofski and Juleh, and the other on the river Chu, represented by Vernoe and Kasteh. The ruler of Khokand awoke up to the importance of the conjuncture, and came into collision with the Russians, which ended in his total defeat, the occupation of the towns of Turkistan and Chemkend in that year, and of Tashkend in 1865, by the skill and gallantry of that same Tcherniaieff, who, being superseded in Central Asia, has since commanded the army of Servia against Turkey. Tashkend then became the seat of a new viceroyalty, and General Kaufman arrived, armed with powers of peace and war, and the next ten years have been marked by the passage of the Jaxartes and occupation of Khojend in 1866. The Khan of Bokhara then raised the standard of Islam, was defeated, and Samarcand was permanently occupied by the Russians in 1868. The Khan of Khiva on the Oxus was attacked and defeated in 1873, and Khiva temporarily occupied. Eventually the Oxus has been declared the northern boundary of that Khanate, and the tracts adjoin-

ing the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, have been permanently occupied, and attached to the Viceroyalty of the Caucasus, a strong fort being erected at Krasnovitch on the Caspian. In 1875 there were renewed troubles in Khokand, and that Khanate has been permanently annexed. The same year witnessed a campaign against the Turkoman borderers, nominal subjects of Khiva, who occupy the desert betwixt Khiva and the Persian frontier; this is the high road to Merv, Herat, and British India, and on this branch of the subject rages an unceasing controversy. That the Russians will in due course occupy Merv, and thus become immediate neighbours of Persia and Afghanistan cannot be doubted.

But in the interval, betwixt the occupation of Samarcand by the defeat of the Khan of Bokhara, and the occupation of Khiva by the defeat of the Khan of Khiva, General Kaufman did another important stroke of business, which, though less talked about, is perhaps pregnant of more important events in the future. The province of Semiretch had been cut away from the Viceroyalty of eastern Siberia and added to his province, with a subordinate Government at Verkhoe. Adjacent to it was the small, but fertile province of Jungaria with its capital Kulja on the river Ili. It formed an integral portion of the Chinese empire, though in a state of rebellion owing to the weakness and decrepitude of the imperial system. This province has also been occupied by Russia, with a professed readiness to restore it to the Chinese, as soon as they are in a position to occupy it. In the same interval a commercial treaty was forced upon Yaku Ali, the successful usurper of the Khanates of Yarkund, Kashgar and Khoten, the province known as Chinese Tartary or Eastern Turkistan. This chief is himself a native of the province of Tashkend, and took part in the defence of Ak Musjid, or Fort Perofsky, on the Jaxartes, which is now part of the Russian dominions. Separated from British India by the almost impassable ranges of Karakorum, he has lately entered into a commercial treaty with the Government of India, and has accepted titles and dignity from the Sultan of Turkey; but the occupation of Khokand and Kulja, separated from his dominions by ranges of mountains, which are easily traversable, places him at the mercy of a Russian invader, whenever the conjuncture arises, which renders their further advance necessary through Kashgar to the province of Kansu in China—for against that kingdom it is more probable that their restless energies will be turned. The footsteps of Genghiz will be followed rather than those of Tamerlane.

It is interesting to get a peep at the Russians in their administration of their new conquests, a very imperfect one indeed, when contrasted with the full and particular accounts published annually

of the provinces of British India. Mr. Schuyler was confessedly new to Oriental countries, and many things struck him as peculiar to Central Asia, which are common to all Asia. Of course the camel, and the encampment, and the caravanserai, and the insects, were described in full: we hope that the time is coming when these features of oriental life will be taken for granted, as the cart, and the public-house, and the crows, are taken in the West, for the reader is weary of them. He tells us that the people are either Uzbeks, speaking the Jaghatai dialect of Turkish, or Tajiks, *alias* Sarts, speaking a dialect of Persian. These last are the older and lower strata, for they represent the old Iranian population of these regions, before wave after wave of Tartars and Mongols flowed down from the Altaic range. The population is again divided sharply into nomads and settled inhabitants of towns and villages. It is foreign to our subject to particularize the subdivisions of these nomads, which are endless, and form one of the greatest difficulties of the administrative problem. In Kulja there is a great variety of races, Mantchu, Chinese, Tarantchi, Dungan, Calmuck; and this fact has been the misfortune of that unhappy "province." Strange to say, these very Calmuck tribes, which left the Volga last century, and marched across Asia to escape from Russia and be under the the Emperor of China, find themselves again under their old masters. We have here also a race of Dungans, Chinese-speaking Muhammadans, and Tarantchis, speaking another variety of Turkish dialect. The three valleys of Khokand, Kulja, and the river Zur-afshan are fertile; but a very large portion of the new conquest is mere unprofitable desert, strangely exposed to the alternation of extreme heat and extreme cold.

Living among the Russians, our author remarked certain signs of that baneful "*albocracy*," which is the great impediment of good Asiatic Government, which is perhaps innate in every man of a conquering race with regard to the conquered; and the general notion that the natives, even in their own country, *have no rights*, and that to admit and grant them is an act of pure and, possibly, injudicious liberality. Professor Gregorieff remarked that he did not know a single case, where the close relation of a civilised with an uncivilised nation has not in the course of a few years ended in mutual hatred. He recommended that no attempt should be made to impress foreign ideas, that there should be as little bureaucracy as possible, and that natives should, as far as possible, be employed. The Russians being less advanced in civilisation than the English, and more orientalised in habit, have shown a facility of dealing with half civilised people, and are to some degree free from those contemptuous feelings, which is so marked in the dealings of the lower classes of the Anglo-

Saxon race with people of lower culture and civilisation. They entertain social relations with Asiatics. We have an instance of a Russian officer obtaining the leave of his own Government to wear a robe of honor conferred on him by the Emperor of China. In their intercourse with the Chinese, our author notices the gradual formation of a "Pigeon-Russian," analogous to the same barbarous patois of Hong-Kong. Not only is religious toleration one of the principles of their nation both at home and abroad, but the Muhammadan religion is in some respects elevated to the rank of a State religion. The Mufti is a Russian nobleman. No missionary is allowed to enter the province; the Muhammadan law and law officers are upheld. During the prevalence of the cholera, the Muhammadans petitioned that dancing boys might be prohibited, and attendance be compelled at the mosques. It was practically impossible to grant the latter petition, but the former was conceded on general Police grounds.

The Viceroy of Turkistan is in some respects a greater man than the Viceroy of India; he has the power of peace and war, and is less under control. He holds a little Court; and the official atmosphere of Tashkent is very much of the same stamp as that of Calcutta. Under him are two provinces, with local Governors. The Syr Daria Province comprises a certain number of districts, but that number is always increasing. The Semiretch Province has five districts, and in addition to this there is Kulja. In each district there is a prefect or commandant, who has the police and general superintendence. Over each village is an elective officer or Ak-Salal, *alias* greybeard, and in each city there is an official of this kind for each ward. The nomads are divided into "awls," and "volosts," containing an hundred and one thousand families respectively. A tax is levied on each of these *kibitkas* or families; over the whole tribe are elective officials responsible to the Russian prefect. A great deal must depend on the nerve and judgment of these prefects, and our author remarks, that the number of Russians who knew either Turki or Persian was wonderfully small, and there were few who cared at all for history, antiquities or natural productions. The remuneration according to Anglo-Indian notions is small, being about £300. The pay of the Viceroy amounts to only £8,000 per annum. It does not appear that the elective officials have any State salaries: we suspect they levy fees on their own account. It appears that newly conquered provinces (we presume that this means for the first year, as the oldest province has only been conquered twelve years), are under a still more arbitrary system, in fact at the entire pleasure of the Viceroy, who has the power to make and alter laws throughout. One feature is noticeable, that the Russians, like the English, cannot do anything without the trammels

of bureaucracy, and in fact sealing wax and tape : it is curious, that it should be so, but there are unmistakeable signs of this infirmity.

In some things the Russian administrators have split on the same rock as the English in India, sometimes they have avoided it: the mania for change is very rampant : they are clearly novices in the work of administration. The addition of each slice of conquered country came upon the central authorities as an unpleasant surprise, and the local authorities might have done what they liked, if they had not been obliged to ask for increased expenditure, for unlike British India, these provinces do not pay their expenses. This necessitated reports and schemes of administration. In 1871 projects were drawn up; but not being approved at St. Petersburg were returned for re-consideration. A second scheme of 1872 failed to obtain the approval of the Emperor. In the winter of 1874-75, after the Khiva campaign, another carefully considered project was submitted by General Kaufman, and discussed by a commission formed of delegates from all the Ministers interested, War, Finance, Justice, and Foreign Affairs. The financial objection was so great, that it was again withdrawn, and re-submitted in 1876 to the council of the empire. It was opposed by the Minister of Finance. The officials of Turkistan have been so long in the habit of spending largely, that they made provision on too large a scale. The Minister of Finance errs on the other side in not seeing the great difference of the position of affairs in Central Asia, and the necessity of a higher scale than the niggardly one in vogue in Russia Proper, where it is notorious that every official adds to his income in various ways to the amount of two, three, or even ten times his salary. General Kaufman is right in insisting on ample salaries, but the Finance Minister is right in lopping off the monstrous expenditure of forest departments, archives, mining, &c., &c., which may come in due time when things have settled down. General Tcherniaieff who occupies the grand position of the patriot unable to get the place which he covets, denounces the present system, and would cut it down to a lower type of administration. He would not interfere at all with the local administration, but substitute local puppets, not allowing the Russians to meddle, except in gross cases of injustice. This cheap system, which has the other ingredient accompanying cheapness, has been tried in India by the patriarchal school, now happily extinct, and has failed. A good independent Native State is a good thing, and a good European administration has its merits, but the half-and-half system has the demerits without the merits of either system. The fact is, that there is in the Russian military class an incapacity for administration, which will bring its own penalty. The great

statesmen of the empire appear not to have given the slightest attention to Turkistan. The soldiers, aided by a few minor clerks, suddenly thrown up into high places, and one or two doctrinaires, have set the machine going. The system of local councils works badly, as the soldier-prefect over-awes them. We can well imagine this from an experience of a local municipal board in India deliberating under the control of an active district officer; but in Central Asia, there is an aggravation unknown in India, that the Russian official is not familiar with the vernacular, and the council is ignorant of the language (Russian), in which its proceedings are recorded, and of their powers and duties; they become therefore a mere blind, as generally there is a sharp native with a smattering of Russian who gets the ear of the ruler, plunders the people, and makes a fortune. Such individuals are not unknown in India.

It must not be supposed that General Kaufman has it all his own way without protests. The spirit of the nineteenth century has reached Russia. One officer spoke out and told the truth, but his papers were ordered to be destroyed, and he himself sent back to Russia. One copy of his report found its way to a Russian newspaper. He thus ends his report:—

“It is clear that since the occupation of the country by the Russians, the condition of the population, in spite of all the promises has not only not grown better, but on the contrary is every day growing worse and worse. How far the constant increase of taxes and imposts can go, the population cannot understand. It is therefore not strange that the frightened imagination of the Asiatic saw in the late collection of statistical information the desire of the Government to get hold of their whole property. An instance of this belief is, that after the registration of property, several natives went to a Russian acquaintance and asked if a fowl could be taken to the bazaar to be sold, or did it already belong to the State? With such a state of the popular mind it is evident, that only a spark is wanting to inflame it.” Well done, Captain Antipin, there is still hope for Russia, and Central Asia, while there are men of your stamp in the ranks of the army.

The author of *Turkistan* makes some just and judicious remarks about the difference betwixt the tyranny of a Muhammadan ruler, within certain limits understood and recognized by the people, and the totally unintelligible and intolerable tyranny of a European Government, acting like an unsympathising machine. A Sikh Chief of the Cis-Sutlej States is said to have compared the British Government and Maharajah Ranjeet Singh to *Tup-i-Dikk* and *Tup-i-Lurghuk* respectively. It is, however, scarcely credible that no care is taken to translate the regulations into the verna-

cular, but the people are expected to understand the system, and to guess at the relations of the various branches of administration, which are quite new to them, and this obscurity, added to the uncertainty and constant changes, makes a system appear tyrannical which is not really so.

The Courts of law were under the native rule of two kinds. I. The Courts of the Kazi, who administered strict Muhammadan law among the settled population. II. *Bis*, or umpires, who judged according to unwritten tradition among the nomads. Here custom had the force of law, altered by no importation of foreign civilisation, and in many particulars directly contrary to Muhammadan law. No record was kept, and no appeal admissible. The umpires were chance men, chosen for the case. The Russians have materially altered the constitution of these local courts; permanent umpires are appointed, and appeals are allowed. This necessitates a record and lets in the evil influence of clerks, copyists, and lawyers. The court of the Kazi is maintained, but an appeal is allowed, and the Kazi is an elective officer by popular suffrage, for a limited term without any salary. It is unnecessary to add that the position of a Russian Kazi is something materially different from the native article, and the unwisdom of tampering with native institutions in both cases is patent.

Each single umpire can dispose of cases not exceeding the value of one hundred roubles, five horses, and fifty sheep: cases involving larger sums are submitted to a council of umpires: extraordinary sessions are held to consider cases arising betwixt residents of different districts. Our author was present on one occasion, and remarks that they were large, stout, well-to-do men, seated round a *kibitka* or hut; in the centre was a table at which sat the Russian soldier-prefect, while the interpreter with a bundle of papers had a chair close beside. The decision was given by the umpires, and entered in a book. A suitor, who has any influence with the prefect, or the interpreter, can always manage to get the decision set aside; if, says our author, the upright Russian magistrate would only forget the formalities, and tape, and paper-smudging, so dear to his race, he would do more for the justice of the nomads: as it is now, they are entirely in the hands of the interpreter.

To the everlasting credit of the Anglo-Indian officials, such a functionary does not exist out of the presidency towns through the length or breadth of British India. On the frontier, where we come into contact with wild tribes, who have no book language, or one not yet sufficiently studied, such as Pushtu and Beloochi, there is a necessity for some one to interpret, and the judicial officer is often sorely tried with the *patois* and pronunciation of the villagers, but even then the interpretation is into

the vernacular of the country,³ not the vernacular of the Judge. There appears to be no reason why the Russian official should not acquire the knowledge of such languages as Turki and Persian to the same practical extent that the Anglo-Indian official masters the Aryan and Non-Aryan vernaculars of India. Our author remarks that the interpreters are a sorry set, which is the more remarkable, as there are so many Asiatic subjects and servants of Russia, and in that country there are excellent appliances for acquiring oriental languages. These interpreters are generally Tartars of the Volga, who have wandered thus far across the Steppes to make their fortunes, or Kurglitz Nomads who have served as Jigits, the personal attendants of Russian officials. They usually know no Persian, and have but an imperfect acquaintance with the Uzbek dialect, and understand less Russian. Sometimes they are only Russian Cossacks, who have picked up a little knowledge colloquially. No wonder glaring and amusing mistakes are made, and that they deceive both the Soldier-prefect and the natives. The letters of the Russians are falsely translated, and sums of money are extorted from natives on pretence of setting things straight. All things have their value, and a perusal of the above leaves an impression of the great value to India of the Eurasian population, and the ubiquitous Bengali Baboo. Perhaps the cure proposed is greater than the evil, for in one of the last projects submitted to St. Petersburg it is seriously proposed to supersede Muhammadan by Russian law, and to assimilate the administration of Turkistan to that of the European provinces of the Empire; but as the Russian Government formally declared on annexation, that the inhabitants should have their judicial system guaranteed to them, the introduction of Russian law would be a breach of faith, and it cannot be impressed too strongly on oriental administrators that, if they wish for peace, they must leave the customs, and laws (so far as they are not contrary to the laws of common humanity) of the subject people alone, and not attempt over-civilisation or unnecessary meddling.

We pass to the Land Tenures. It is suspicious, that property is found divided into the stereotyped Muhammadan categories, of "Milk" or private property, "Miri," or public demesne, "Wukul" or church and charity property, "Mutrookuh," or abandoned, "Mewat," dead or waste. If this is a correct representation of the holdings of land in the ancient Iranian kingdom of Trans-Oxiana, there must at some period have been a deluge, like the Norman Conquest, pass over the land, and uproot all the old tenures, which have survived in India in spite of centuries of Muhammadan domination. We find the Russian discussing the same elementary question, whether the land belongs to the State or the actual occupant; or in other words, whether the

State is entitled to a land-tax or land-rent. The Russians propose to declare that all land belongs to the State, unless a grant can be produced, and to settle the land with a rack-rent, and to treat church and charitable property as available for any local purpose, and turn out the Muhammadan religious bodies. With our knowledge of the effect of such wholesale measures in India, we may well hold our breath for a time, and refuse credence to the proposition of introducing the Russian Commune described in the early part of this paper, into a country where there exists no commercial adhesion, and where such institutions, which are of Aryan essence, and foreign to Semites, are unknown. The argument for this is stated to be that the Government would not be respected if it did not enforce its extreme rights, and that otherwise there would be no room for the Russian colonist, whose advance, and settlement is part of the system of the Russian advance into Central Asia. Already in the adjoining Province of Semivetch, which is part of the Viceroyalty of Turkistan, there is a nucleus in each district of sturdy Russian colonists, which may, or may not, be a source of strength hereafter, according as cultivable land is to be had in sufficiency without trespassing on native rights.

There are taxes levied from the nomad tribes of two roubles on each kibitka or family. There are taxes levied on the non-agricultural classes; but our chief interest is with the arrangements made to bring the land under contribution; for after all in Asia that must be the chief source of revenue, especially as there are in the Khanates no sea customs, and no special products on which a State monopoly can be erected, such as salt, and opium, and tobacco. The Haradj or impost on land exists in two forms:—(1.) "mukasin," or proportional, paid in kind and a certain portion of the produce; in this we recognize the "batai" of our Indian system anterior to the introduction of "cash settlements: (2.) "mudayur," a fixed acreage cash-payment on certain superior products; in this we recognize our Indian "kankut." In Central Asia the unit of land measurement is the "tanap," and by that name the system is familiarly known. In both these methods all depends on the amount levied by the State; if a fair proportion only is demanded they are the most favourable expedients with regard to the capricious climates, and the utter want of capital of the cultivator. But frightful extortion is possible, and cheating, and waste of resources. Here is an instance, which was the talk of Russian society:—"A small proprietor had on his threshing-floor 320lbs of grain. This was disposed of in the following way. The tax Collector took one-fourth as his own perquisite, amounting to 80 lbs. His assistant was allowed a sleeve-full, but he set to work with such enormous

sleeves, that he carried away 40lbs. The priest took 40lbs, the scribe took 21lbs. the baker in exchange for some rãliculously small cakes took 20lbs; the pipe-bearer handed in his pipe with a large horse's nosebag attached to it, and took 20lbs; a Gypsy-prostitute passing by spread out before the State Collector a pair of new trousers, and received not only 30lbs, but an invitation to tea; all that remained after this unscrupulous plunder, was divided into shares betwixt the State and the cultivator, the latter only receiving 40lbs or one-eighth of his harvest. Our compassion, however, evaporates into indignation, when we are informed, that the cultivator made no complaint, as he had previously concealed the greater part of the harvest." It is proposed to convert all taxes into rent, and after dividing the land into eight classes according to its capability, to fix an average assessment; but our author does not hesitate to say, that the tone of feeling among the Russians is to grind out of the population as heavy taxes as possible, after so much expense has been incurred in the conquest. A century of experiments, failures, and experience purchased by failures, has taught us in British India, that fat and flourishing agriculturists with an interest in peace, and much property exposed to rapine in case of war, are the great bulwarks of our empire, that light-assessments make easy collections, that a contented peasantry with an unbounded spread of cultivation, and an imperial revenue poured into the treasury by willing hands, is at once the aim and reward of the skilful administrator. From the Indus to the Bay of Bengal millions are collected by a mere wave of the hand; and if Russia allows the agriculturist of the Khanates to be ground to powder, she will find, when she makes her boasted advance on India, that she has a desert without supplies, or a hot-bed of rebellion, in her rear.

It need scarcely be said that the expenditure of the Russian conquests in Central Asia far exceeds the revenue. The late acquisitions are useless for any purposes of trade or agriculture. Such deserts as that of Ust-Urt betwixt the Aral and the Caspian, and Kizil-kum betwixt the Oxus and Jaxartes, are of no more value than the salt water of the Bay of Bengal, and not so convenient for traversing. It was fondly thought that Central Asia was a rich country, and it was regarded as a promised land. It was hoped that it would not only pay for the troops stationed there, but that it would afford a large surplus for imperial purposes: this idea lay at the bottom of creating in Turkistan a separate Vicerealty; this is not the case. The Military expenditure has increased beyond expectation, and the revenue scarcely covers the expenses of the local civil administration.

It is impossible to form any accurate opinion from the budgets supplied. In the first place there has been a constant yearly

accretion of territory, and until we have a fixed area, no opinion can be formed. A portion of the military expenditure is charged to the general budget of the Empire. The amount of revenue is ridiculously small, in fact the revenue of British India exceeds that of all Russia in Asia, and a comparison of the revenue of the Central Provinces of India to that of the Khanate would be more proper. Some maintain that the cost of the army ought to be deducted on the ground that the charge of defending the Empire should not fall on the frontier district only. We have had this line of argument sifted in British India with regard to the budget of the Punjab, and there is a certain amount of truth in it; but of the forty thousand troops stationed in Turkistan, how many are there to guard the frontier against the Afghans, or Yakub Khan of Kashgar, or the Turkomans south of the Oxus, and how many to keep down the Uzbeks, the Kara-Kirghiz, the Kiptchaks, the discharged retainers of the Khans, and the seething Muhammadan rascality of Samarcand and the other great cities of Trans-Oxiana?

Mr. Schuyler's final view is, that the advance of Russia was not the result of any settled plan of conquest, but of unforeseen circumstances, and accidents not sufficiently guarded against. Central Asia has no store of wealth and no economical resources, nor will it ever repay the Russians for what it has already cost, and the rapidly-increasing expenditure. Had they known fifteen years ago what they know now, the steps taken in 1864 would never have been allowed; but it is impossible for Russia to withdraw. Her prestige would be injured, and it would be unjust to withdraw her protection from those who have thrown their lot in with her.

The consequence must be, that more wars must be waged, Bokhara, Khiva and all the Turkoman country must be annexed, and more than that, Kashgar, which has already been threatened, must be occupied, and those tracts south of the Oxus known as Afghan-Turkistan, where the population are Turkish, though the sovereign power is with the Afghans, will surely be drawn into the net, and a true ethnical boundary will be formed in the Hindoo Koosh. Beyond that lies the question of political expansion and military domination.

What is our author's opinion on the state of the army occupying Turkistan? He mentions that there are arrears of pay, and a great amount of suffering from the delay in transmission of supplies. These evils can be amended, but he further remarks, that officers of broken character are sent to join this force; that the best officers are drafted from the regiments into civil employ, and that promotion to lucrative offices was due to favoritism rather than merit. When war broke out such men hurried back

to their regiments to share in the lavish distribution of decorations. We have known such things in British India, and perhaps to such causes may, in some degree, be traced the break-up of the old native army of the East India Company. An officer of the army—(probably one who had failed in obtaining a lucrative civil post) remarked, that, in the eyes of the natives, the Russians were far from being at the moral height on which they ought to place themselves; that they had been unable to inspire the natives with confidence, which ought to be the principal source of moral influence; that the high moral qualities which ought to have carried the civilising mission of the Russians to the natives, had been wanting, and that many functionaries who were distinguished by their bad qualities for proved corruption had been pardoned; notorious plundering had been condoned; investigations had been hushed up or allowed to die away. The people say “How are Russians better than Kokandians? They also take away from us our daughters and our wives, and love presents, and waste the money of the Tsar, as the Begs wasted that of the Khan.”

General Tcherniaieff has expressed an opinion in favour of abolishing the Viceroyalty of Turkistan, and reducing all the unnecessary expenditure. Others recommend a purely military administration, a state of things unknown and incomprehensible to a law-abiding Anglo-Saxon, but which is known too well on the Continent, and applauded by a soldier class, who dislike being restricted to purely soldier duties. Others would make a cat's-paw of a supple Khan, who should manage the civil matters, while the real power rested with the Russian. Those engaged during the last quarter of a century in working out the great problem of Oriental administration in British India, can appreciate the difficulties of Russia. The perusal of such a book as Mr. Schuyler's makes them reflect how they would have acted, if deputed to go in and settle the Khanates. How simple it would have been; how the difficulties would have vanished under the touch of those, who, in a few months, have brought into order the teeming population of the Punjab, Oudh, the Central Provinces, Mysore, and British Burmah. If we mistake not, equality of religion and of legal rights, liberty of the person and property, fearless independence of the controlling officer, common sense, obedience to a central authority, single-mindedness, and clean hands, would have worked the same marvels in the Khanates as in British India.

We may safely leave Russia to manage her own business, and a very troublesome one she will find it, and attend to our own. Better far that we should lose India, than that the civilising advance of a great nation should be stopped in a path, which no other nation but herself could tread. It was well for the world, for civilisation, for religion, for humanity, that Im-

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perial Rome gave way to the Goths, though the Romans did not think so at the time; and there is room in Asia for the two forms of civilisation, the one full of light and life, but intolerant of, and destructive of, Oriental customs; the other more ponderous, and less advanced, but more sympathetic with Asiatic prejudices:—the former is represented by England and France: the latter by Russia. We have to thank Russia for opening out new regions and letting floods of light into dark corners.

Russia hangs up in her churches at St. Petersburg and Moscow the keys of all the cities which she has conquered. In this she only imitates the example of the Turkish Sultan at Constantinople, who still holds the keys of cities, which they once took, but are unable to retain. If England had a taste for that form of barbarous triumph, there are plenty of keys which she could hang up, brought home from the four quarters of the globe any time during the last five hundred years. But the era of conquest, for the mere lust of conquest, after the manner of the Assyrian and Egyptian kings, Alexander the Great, and Rome, is past; and Russia is too poor a country to follow such examples with impunity. A long period of eternal peace is required to carry out her gigantic schemes of home-development. If the Crimean war nearly caused bankruptcy, her financial state during the next twenty years is still more critical, and any real patriot would pray for peace.

Another great lesson is taught by history. No nation can give freedom to others, and be content to be unfree herself. France did not help the American colonies to assert their independence without unwillingly teaching her own people the terminology of liberty, and the elements of the rights of man. By fostering Slavonic societies, and conjuring up the spectre of Pan-Slavism, the Russian authorities have unchained a lion. The Russian peasant reads in his cabin of the sufferings of the Southern Slavs, and hears talk of Skoupechnas, and paper constitutions wrung from sovereigns in spite of themselves; the great Russian *Mujik* population has compelled an unwilling Tsar to go to war to avoid a domestic revolution. Whatever may be the issue, the Russian people will have learnt a lesson; they will have seen Finland in enjoyment of constitutional liberty, Poland deprived of it, and the whole of Europe interfering in favour of the liberties of so very undeserving and debased a nationality as the Bulgarians, who have never done a thing worthy of record during a long and unhonoured existence.

POETRY :—THE TEARS OF RACINE. (*Sainte-Beuve.*)

When Jean Racine the poet grand,
Loving and true,—a child of light,
Had veiled his lyre, grown mute, to stand
For ever out of human sight,
Though earth he had renounced and fame,
He felt at times song's sacred flame
Within his heart burn bright and clear,
And then before the Saviour's feet
He burst in prayers confessed and sweet,
Prayers always sealed with many a tear.

Just as the pure heart of a maid
In secret often overflows,
At each domestic cloud or shade,
At each small joy, his tears arose.
To see his eldest daughter weep ;
To see his children round him leap
And deck his rooms with flowers and leaves ;
To feel a father's tender cares
Mid chat of books or state affairs
With Rollin, in the winter eves.

Or if in the loved native place,
'The cradle of his touching dreams,
He strayed in fields, until in face
Port-Royal rose 'mid rainbow gleams ;
If he beheld its cloisters cool
Its long wall and its lonely pool,
As weeps an exiled man he wept ;
To weep was sweet ! What blessed fain
For Champmeslé and La Fontaine
He shed each year the day they slept.

But never gentler tears were seen
To flow in love from any lid,
Than his when brows of fair sixteen
Beneath the shrouding veils were hid,
And when the girls with solemn vows
Acknowledging the Lord as Spouse,
Trod on their festal garlands gay,
And giving up their beauty's crown,
Their long hair, erst let loosely down,
With tears, from parents passed away.

The Tears of Racine.

He also had to pay his debt
 And to the temple bring his lamb,
 Upon his youngest's brow was set
 The seal of Him who said I Am.
 The wedding-ring her finger graced,
 Pale, pale, before the altar placed,
 Her Lord divine she longed to see ;
 While heedless of the pomp and crowd,
 Incense, and organ swelling loud,
 The father sobbed on bended knee.

Sobs, sighs, that soon to tear-showers led,
 As gentle as those tear-showers sweet
 That Mary Magdalene shed
 Upon her blessed Saviour's feet ;
 As precious as the perfume rare
 Lazarus' sister with her hair
 Long-flowing softly wiped away ;
 Tear-showers abundant as were thine
 Best loved Apostle called divine
 Before thy hallelujah-day.

Dumb prayers from a heart that throbs !
 Holy desires that upward mount !
 What lute shall interpret these sobs
 And sighs and tears that none can count !
 Who shall the mystery explain
 Of this vexed heart that strove in vain
 To hush itself, yet had no tone
 Articulate ;—ah who shall tell
 What winds of autumn in the dell
 Among the naked branches moan ?

It was an offering with a cry
 Like Abraham's—a yearning strong !
 It was a struggle last and high
 For her whom he had nourished long.
 It was a retrospective glance
 Upon his past life's vast expanse—
 A sinner rescued from the fire !
 One cry unto the Judge sublime
 That for this victim, every crime
 Might be effaced and quenched all ire.

It was a dream of innocence,
And this the thought that made him sob,
He might have stayed here, and from hence
Heard the world's pulses far off throb,
Port-Royal might have been his home,
In its calm vale how sweet to rove
It would have been, amidst its woods
Of chestnuts with their shadows deep,
And muse, and pray, and wake, and sleep
In its vast parlours' solitudes.

And oh, if with his eyes still wet
Snatching his slumbering lute again,
He has not unto music set
What then he felt of bitterest pain ;
As poet, if he has not sung
The holocaust his tears that wrung ;
The Master who by name can call
His sheep, hath less not understood
The minstrel's wise and silent mood ;
O mortals blame him not at all.

The Lord unto whose holy throne
Our prayers ascend, sends He tear-showers
To sparkle on the lids alone
Like dew upon the opening flowers ?
No ! Nor His breath to cause unrest,
And agitate the human breast,
Wild music from its chords to draw ;
His dews awake to life from death,
Ardent, immense, His circling breath
Labours the frost in us to thaw.

What matters song with harp and voice,
What matters if we tread where trod
The saints, and in the dance rejoice
Before the holy Ark of God,
If soon, too soon, at ease the soul
Cast off her widow's weeds and dole
And dissipate what she should feel
Continually ; and what she pays,
Poor guilty thing, in thanks and praise,
From her repentance rashly steal !

TORU DUTT.

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR ON THE RENT QUESTION.

BY H. RICKETTS, LATE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

SIR,—I have read with much interest the article in the *Calcutta Review* for July, on the Rent Question. There is much in it that may be very useful. Young men desirous of employment in the Revenue Department may learn from it much not to be found without very diligent search in many books old and new; but there are some things said which it is very painful to read; they must damage the usefulness of the article, for they will create doubts as to the author's fitness as a guide.

"The remarks of his Lordship, so often quoted by writers 'on revenue and rent questions in Bengal, if closely examined, will appear to be meaningless platitudes of an ill-informed foreigner anxious to promote the interests of the E. I. Company whom he served, and who while seeking to elevate the status of the zemindars, was at the same time eager to protect the ryots from over-taxation.' Many on coming to this passage will at once throw down the book, convinced that nothing written by a person who could thus speak of Lord Cornwallis could possibly be worth one moment's attention. *Sic transit gloria!* Lord Cornwallis has stood before the world for nearly a century as the first Englishman who thoroughly understood the interests of the agricultural classes. His name has been honored as the great legislator who laid the foundation of the edifice that has gradually risen in Bengal, overshadowing in beauty and stability all the structures in other parts of the empire! Where is wealth? In Bengal! Where is advancement in civilization, in education? In Bengal! Where is contentment? In Bengal! And all are to be ascribed to the policy introduced by that ill-informed foreigner whose remarks were mere meaningless platitudes!

It is very astonishing that immediately after using such contemptuous expressions the writer should say that this ignorant foreigner "while seeking to elevate the status of the zemindars, was at the same time eager to protect the ryots from over-taxation"! Without meaning to say that Lord Cornwallis's great act was anything but a mistake, the writer unintentionally gives him credit for motives than which none could be more worthy of praise! In the Perpetual Settlement he was not only anxious to promote the interest of the E. I. Company, he desired to promote the interests of all classes connected with the land! The status of the zemindars has been elevated; compared with what they were in 1793 they are rich and free, and the ryots are less taxed than any other ryots in Asia!

The object of the writer appears to be to shew that the legislature ought to declare what portion of the produce of the land either in kind or in money the zemindar should be entitled in all cases to demand as rent from the cultivator. He says, "Nothing can excuse the indifference of the legislature in having up to the present moment left the question of proportion entirely unsettled! It is the imperative duty of the Government to investigate the subject as far as possible with a view to definite legislation, as to what the proportion ought to be."

It is no more possible for the legislature to determine what in all cases would be a fair proportion of the produce to be paid as rent for land, than it is possible for the legislature to determine what under all circumstances should be paid as rent for a house. Again and again during the last 70 or 80 years such notions have arisen, always to end as they will end now in ineffectual discussion. The Lieutenant-Governor in his Minute dated 25th May 1875 writes, "other methods of determining rent might be suggested. But whatever method is discussed, difficulties will, I fear, present themselves in respect to legislation by reason of the diversity of local custom and the variety of the circumstances, of the cultivation, of the rent, and of the tenure in the several parts of Bengal." The variety of the circumstances of cultivation!—that is the insuperable difficulty, the difficulty that no legislation can meet. The unpractised eye looking on a large plain may feel assured that the same rate of rent might fairly be demanded for each acre, whereas careful inquiry would shew that scarcely any two acres pay exactly the same rate, and that there is good cause for each difference. Though to the eye the plain may be level, long acquaintance with the land tells the ryot that the plain rises towards the middle; that when there are six inches of water all round the sides of the plain there are but two inches towards the middle, the consequence* being that the acres towards the middle seldom produce a full crop, and oftentimes scarcely enough to pay for the labor. How could the legislature provide a rule to meet such a case as this? Again, I find in a paper of mine written many years ago "perhaps after all the necessary inquiries respecting clay and marl, and surface soil and sub-soil and irrigation and drought and roads and markets had been disposed of, the ryot might plead that the land was exposed to the ravages of wild hogs making nightly watching for two months necessary; that his grandfather was killed by a hog when returning from watching after dawn of day, and that his nephew was wounded only last year, and that consequently all the advantages of soil and position, which had been urged by the landlord, are more

Alluding to rice cultivation.

"than neutralized by the expense and danger of watching, without which there would be no crop at all." Again, I say, how can the legislature provide a rule to meet such a case as this? The Officiating Secretary to the Government in the Revenue Department writes "in the case of tenants-at-will the proper price is "the price which persons will ordinarily be willing to give; in "other words, the matter may be left to be regulated by the law "of demand and supply." On the other hand, the author of the article considers that Lord Cornwallis and the legislature of 1859 are deserving of infinite blame because they did not settle the question of proportion of the produce payable as rent in such cases!

Could the legislature rule that each acre of the plain should be examined on the 15th June, 15th September and 15th October, and the amount of rent demandable be determined by the depth of water found thereon? Could the legislature rule that the woods near the plain should be carefully examined and the number of hogs within feeding distance of the plain be ascertained, and the amount of the expense of curing the wounds to which the ryot is liable be carefully investigated? The Officiating Secretary is right. The variety of the circumstances of the cultivation is beyond reach—the proper price is the price which persons are willing to give. The law of supply and demand, and the law for the observance of contracts, are the only laws applicable to the ever-varying circumstances with which the cultivation of land is surrounded.

I some time ago sent to the Secretary to the Bengal Council a paper written in answer to the Lieutenant-Governor's invitation to all interested in the question of what advantages should be secured to occupancy ryots to express their opinions on the important subject. I suggested that no more should be granted to the occupancy ryots in Bengal than has been granted to the occupancy ryots in the Punjab, Oudh, and the N.-W. Provinces, *i. e.*, an advantage over the rate paid by the tenant-at-will of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and that the advantage should not be increased to the ryot of 30 and 40 years' standing. I find nothing in this article to make me doubtful of the views therein expressed.

The difference of opinion as to facts connected with the provisions of Act X. of 1859 is very remarkable. Mr. Dampier, Secretary to the Government, writes "no doubt it would be very desirable "to determine suitable rules by law, especially as tenant right is "growing so fast in Bengal, and as the occupancy tenure is extending year by year to larger and larger number of ryots and cultivators;" whereas the author of the paper in the *Review* says—"It is hardly necessary to repeat that a distinction between non-occupancy and occupancy ryots, which has time for its basis, when

“coupled with a further distinction between the two as to the rate of assessment, necessarily confines the advantage to a limited class of ryots, but the disadvantages extend to the general body of tenants, and its inevitable tendency is the expansion of rack-renting and the extinction of the favored class.”

With such contradictory representations as to facts it must be most difficult to determine whether alteration of the existing law is desirable. Assuredly in passing Act X. of 1859, we had no desire to increase or decrease the number of occupancy ryots. Whether it was desirable to forward a course that should produce either one result or the other was never mooted, I may say was never mentioned. And seeing that an authority having every opportunity of acquiring correct information says the number of the favored class is extending year by year, and another authority evidently interested in the question says the extinction of the favored class is inevitable, in all probability the number is very much where it was, neither increased nor diminished. Of course year by year some occupancy ryots die or leave the village, or are sold out in default; while year by year some non-occupancy ryots become entitled by 12 years' uninterrupted possession to remain undisturbed. Inquiry would shew that increase or decrease depends much on the status of the zemindar. An old proprietor living among his tenants would seldom object to their acquiring the right by law to remain; on the other hand a new proprietor, non-resident, might greatly object to the development of any right, and especially to the right of a ryot, to hold his land on terms below its market value!

After various suggestions respecting classification of land, and the share of the gross produce or the net produce payable by the ryot to the zemindar, the writer of the article says, “I confess my utter inability to suggest what ought to be the particular share of the two parties out of gross or net produce.” It would lead to a great saving of time and of much useless reading if all writers and speakers on the matter of rent would start with such a confession as this! “I confess I know nothing about it, & now read on if you like”—and really nobody does know, and nobody can find out what portion of the gross produce or net produce should be declared the right of the zemindar. Whatever the ruling might be, mischief in various shapes would follow. Whether one-half or one-fourth or one-eighth, however applicable in some cases, in many it would cause despair and ruin—it would cause the abandonment of much land, providing food to thousands, and paying the zemindar merely a nominal rent!—for the expense of cultivation and the precarious produce leave no margin for rent. In many parts the productive powers of the land vary acre by acre; one-fourth of the produce, a light assess-

ment for the field on one side the path, would cause the immediate abandonment of the field on the other side. Ryot A is able to keep two bullocks to do his plough work, there being several acres of land near his holding always waste, where his bullocks can graze. Ryot B having land of exactly the same sort as Ryot A has no bullocks, and is obliged to hire; the two cannot pay the same rate of rent. Ryot C has four beegahs of land all in one block—Ryot D has 4 beegahs of exactly the same sort of land, but in five different parts of the village, at a considerable distance from each other, whereby much delay and extra work are occasioned; the rate that would satisfy C, would not be acceptable to D, and so on—close examination brings out hundreds of differences in a small estate paying the Government only a few hundred rupees!

Another ill-informed foreigner may be mistaken in supposing that meaningless platitudes such as these, can be in any way useful; but when writings appear again speaking of zemindars being entitled to a certain proportion of the produce of land, and that the indifference of the legislature is inexcusable in having, up to the present moment, left the question of proportion entirely unsettled, and when great authorities write, "it were superfluous to dwell on the importance in Bengal of adjusting the respective shares of landlord and tenant in the produce of the land," and "if doubt should remain, then the rent of the occupancy ryot should be calculated at $\frac{1}{4}$ or 25 per cent. of the value of the gross produce with a further allowance of 3 per cent. to cover risks of seasons," it seems desirable once more to represent that to declare by law what share of the produce shall be the right of the landlord is altogether impracticable; such a law may be passed, but the experience of a very short period would prove its unsuitableness. Instead of staying litigation, it would increase it; instead of producing contentment and peace, it would create distrust and disturbance in every village in the land. *But* every endeavour be made to encourage the interchange of written agreements, and when disputes arise let them be "left to mutual arrangement between the landlord and tenant, and to adjust themselves just as prices and market rates adjust themselves," assisted by arbitrators acquainted with all the local circumstances: or should a suit for enhancement be instituted by the landlord, or a suit for reduction be instituted by the ryot, instead of bewildering and fruitless inquiries respecting quantity and value of produce, expenses, risks, and liabilities, let the land be measured in the presence of three umpires, and a suitable rent be assessed by them with reference to the existing supply and demand, and the advantages and disadvantages apparent to them on the spot.

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You will print this letter or not as you please. If your decision is not to print it, I request that it may be made over to the author of the article in the July number of the *Review*, with the *bhôt bhôt saluam* of an old settlement officer who thoroughly appreciates the useful information respecting rents the article contains, and hopes that in future he will not damage his writing with abuse of the great man who "notified to all zemindars, independent Talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land, that the *Jumma* "assessed on their lands was fixed for ever."

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

HENRY RICKETTS,

Late Bengal C. S.

OAK HILL GROVE;
SURBITON,
KINGSTON-ON-THAMES. }

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Paláshir Yuddha. By Navin Chandra Sena. Calcutta: Printed by Rám Nrisingha Bandopadhyaya, at the Nūtana Bbārata Press. 1282 B. S.

THE author of this poem is a well known lyric poet. Indeed, his lyre is considered second only to that of Babu Hem Chandra Banerji. *Paláshir Yuddha* or the Battle of Plassey, is not however a lyric poem; and it is not very easy to say what it is. The first book, and a portion of the second, are composed in the manner of epic poetry. But the remainder of the poem, though instinct with heroic spirit, is not cast in the true epic mould. "There is enough of the lyre in it, something dramatic, and something discursive. Of these four elements of the poem, the dramatic is the best. This element is found in the third book; where the history of a dark, depraved, and despicable Soul—the Soul of Nawáb Siráj-ud-daula is told by its own possessor. This analysis of a soul is extremely graphic, and correct and clever; and has received a touch of the terrible from the introduction of seven dreadful visions.

The epic element of the poem, by which of course we do not mean its heroic tone, is not so good as the dramatic. Not to speak of the circumstances under which the battle of Plassey was fought, the idea of an epic narration seems almost ludicrous in connection with a body of soldiers of whom it has been said by our poet that,—

“তাহাদের মধ্যে তাহে নাই এক জন,
 অশিক্ষিত যুদ্ধ শাস্ত্রে; প্রায় ত সকল
 সমরে অদূরদর্শী শিশুর মতন;
 অধিকাংশ এই মাত্র লেখনী ছাড়িয়া,
 অনিচ্ছায় তরবারী লইয়াছে করে.”

As regards the heroic enthusiasm of our poet, we find nothing so great or noble in the character of Muhammadan rule in Bengal

as can justify so large an infusion of that poetical virtue in the song of a Hindu. The speech of General Mohan Lal on the field of Plassey would have read like a rodomontade, if it had less of fire and spirit.

Bábu Navin Chandra plays upon his lyre with very great power, and seems capable of producing notes the most melting, as well as notes the most stirring. But in *Paláshir Yuddha*, his lyre, though touched with immense power, seldom wins a response. And how could it do so? The Hindus of Bengal suffered too much at the hands of Siráj-ud-daula. But when the lyre of the poet is not struck in behalf of the fallen tyrant, it is singularly effective. The song of the British soldier, inspired by the memory of his distant beloved, is one instance in point. This song is full of poetry and pathos.

The discursive element ought to have been excluded. It is a poetical mistake and an argumentative failure. It is found at the end of the fourth book, and in the concluding verses of the fifth. These verses are—

“সেই শনিতের স্রোতে হইল তখন

বঙ্গ-স্বাধীনতা-শেষ-আশা বিসর্জন !”

As if Siráj-ud-daula, if he had not been killed, could have turned the course of events. As if the whole drama had not been finished on the very field of Plassey.

Bábu Navin Chandra's verses are smooth, vigorous, and musical. He is capable of writing very effective poetry, but he ought to be less imitative. In *Paláshir Yuddha* we have a good deal which reads like a close translation of Byron.

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

An Analysis of Sir W. Hamilton's Lectures on Metaphysics, with Notes, Expository and Critical. By the Rev. Robert Jardine, B.D., D.Sc., Principal of the General Assembly's Institution. Calcutta: 1877.

DR. JARDINE'S name is a guarantee for the excellence of this little book, both from a literary point of view, and as an aid to the student of Hamilton. The analysis is brief and clear, and the notes all that can be desired. Note G. on the logical doctrine of the proposition, is an exceedingly interesting

disquisition ; the substance of it appeared in an article in this *Review* last year. The most valuable part of the book, on the whole, is perhaps the admirable exposition of Hamilton's Doctrine of Consciousness, which should be mastered by every one who wishes to gain a thorough knowledge of the teaching of the great master on this difficult point. Dr. Jardine divides the discussion of the subject into three parts—(1) the character and elements of consciousness ; (2) the sphere of consciousness ; and (3) the interpretation of consciousness. Each point is carefully and vigorously discussed, with full illustrations of every peculiarity of Sir William Hamilton's doctrines.

The Fall of the Moghul Empire ; An Historical Essay : Being a New Edition of "the Moghul Empire from the death of Aurangzeb," with many corrections and additions, a Map and Index. By Henry George Keene, Judge of the District and Sessions Courts of Agra, and Fellow of the University of Calcutta. Allen and Co., London : Brown and Co. Calcutta : 1876.

MR. KEENE'S important work, on the history of the obscure period intervening between the close of Elphinstone's *History* and the commencement of Mill's, is too well known to require any notice in these pages. But we cannot allow a new edition, so much enlarged and improved as the present, to appear without a brief expression of the gratitude due from ourselves and from the whole reading public, to the learned and industrious author for the pains he has taken to illustrate and adorn his subject. The period extends over the most confused and anarchical part of Indian History ; and its story is told in the simple language of a plain straightforward narrative. Mr. Keene's work has long been a standard one ; the edition before us will maintain that position for many years to come. Its get-up reflects great credit on the publishers.

The Song of the Reed and other Pieces. By E. H. Palmer, Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, Cambridge. London : Trübner & Co. 1877.

STUDENTS of Persian and Arabic literature will thank Professor Palmer for his sprightly renderings of many well-known little poems, and of many other pieces that are likely to be well known now that public attention has been directed to them. The notes given at the end are rather scanty ; but are very valuable as far as they go. We will quote the first two or

three stanzas of Mr. Palmer's version of the oft-translated *Táza Butáza*, as a specimen of the poetical style of this charming collection :—

O minstrel ! sing thy lay divine,
Freshly fresh and newly new !
Bring me the heart-expanding wine,
Freshly fresh and newly new !

Seated beside a maiden fair,
I gaze with a loving and raptured view,
And I sip her lip and caress her hair,
Freshly fresh and newly new !

Who of the fruit of life can share,
Yet scorn to drink of the grape's sweet dew ?
Then drain a cup to thy mistress fair,
Freshly fresh and newly new.

Kachahri Technicalities ; or, A Glossary of Terms, Rural, Official, and General in daily use in the Courts of law, and in illustration of the tenures, customs, arts, and manufactures of Hindustan. By Patrick Carnegy, Commissioner of Rai Bareli, Oudh. Allahabad. 1877.

THIS is a most useful work, by an old and well-known contributor to this *Review*. Mr. Carnegy's name is ample guarantee for the accuracy of the information it contains. Whilst it in no way professes to take the place of such dictionaries as those of Forbes or Durgá Parshád, or Dr. Fallon's great work ; it may be regarded as a valuable supplement to all of them. Out of the rich stores of a long and well-improved experience, Mr. Carnegy has here brought forth a collection of things new and old, which will be most valuable not only to young civilians, but also to every one whose business takes him much amongst our Hindustani-speaking fellow subjects.

Report of the Native Ladies' Normal School and Girls' School for the year 1875-76. Calcutta : 1876.

THIS is a most interesting report of the working of a most interesting and valuable institution. We propose to devote an article in an early number to an account of the progress that has been made in these admirable schools. Meanwhile many of our English readers will be surprised to hear that the young Bengali ladies in the first class of the Normal School have, within the past year, been reading Shakspeare, Goldsmith, Freeman, Words-

worth, Byron, and other standard English authors, as well as English History, Geography, Arithmetic, Grammar, and other subjects. There have been, on an average, fifteen young ladies in the adult Normal classes, five of these being married, the rest unmarried; and more than thirty girls in the girls' school. The classes have been examined by Mrs. Woodrow, Miss Chamberlain, and other English ladies; and the reports, which are here published are, on the whole, most satisfactory. The promoters of this excellent movement, Babus Keshub Chunder Sen, Motap Chunder Mozoomdar, and Kanty Chunder Mitter, will receive the congratulations and sympathy of all those who are interested in the advancement of Indian civilisation.

Report of the Delhi Medical Mission in connection with the Baptist Missionary Society for the year ending 31st December 1876. [Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press: 1877.]

WE were glad to receive the first brief report of this Mission, which is under the care of one who bears the honoured name of Carey, and to learn that the experience of its first year gives promise of so much usefulness. The number of new patients registered was 1,497, and that of patients treated more than once 3,605.

In connection with the Dispensary daily services were held, at which those who sought medical advice were invited—not compelled—to attend; the average daily attendance for the year being 25.

Though connected with the Baptist Missionary Society, the Mission seems to be conducted on a broad unsectarian basis, the Delhi Committee being composed of representatives of other Christian communities, such as Colonel Angelo and Professors Sims and Dick. We are pleased to observe that there is a prospect of its securing speedily a building to serve as a small hospital, the sum of Rs. 1,165 having been already obtained, including a gift of Rs. 500 from H. E. the Viceroy.

Benevolent efforts of this character may represent the spirit of Christianity even more truly than the preaching in streets and bazars. We wish the Mission all success.

WE are sorry to hear that our remarks, in the *Critical Notices* of the last number of this *Review*, on Mr. Badley's admirable *Missionary Directory*, have been misinterpreted; and we wish to take the earliest opportunity of explaining them. We pointed out that the space given in the *Directory*, to the missionary organisations connected with the Church of

England, was not adequate to the importance of those organisations. We noticed this, merely as a defect that might be amended in future editions, when fuller information might be in the possession of the Editor—and with no thought of imputing partiality in the work of compilation, which indeed was obviously carried out in the broadest and most liberal spirit.





